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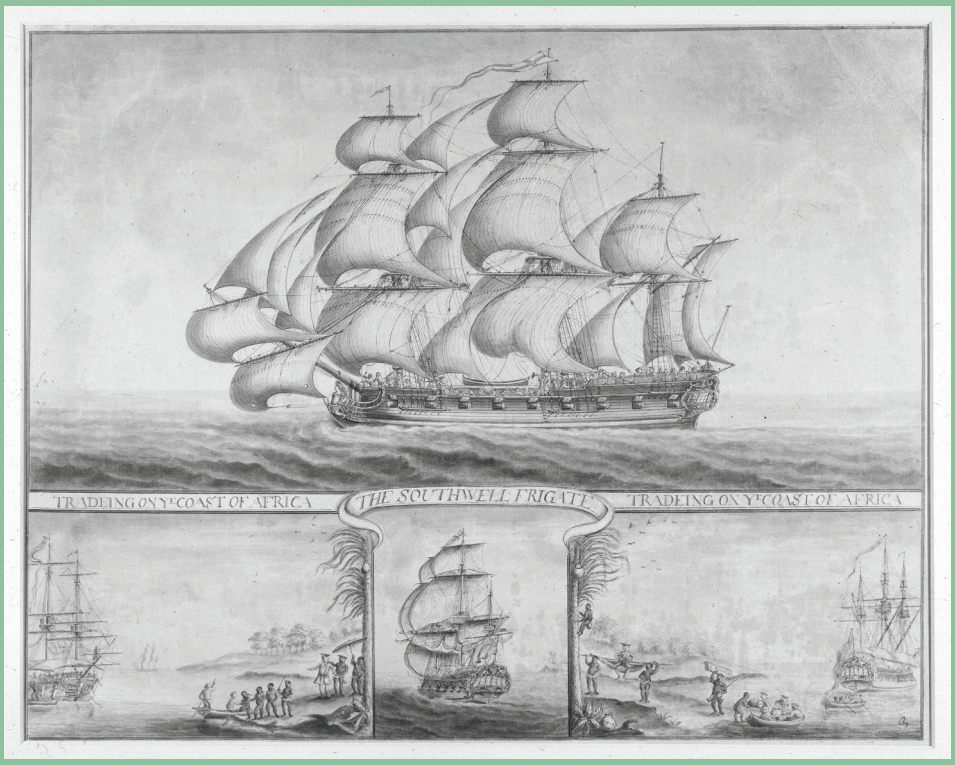
DOCUMENTS ON THE BRISTOL SLAVE TRADE



Edited by
KENNETH MORGAN

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Bristol played a significant role in the eighteenth-century transatlantic slave trade as one of the three leading English ports in this commerce along with Liverpool and London. The Bristol Record Society has previously published four volumes of calendars of individual slaving voyages. This documentary edition extends this coverage to provide the most comprehensive selection of primary material on Bristol's transatlantic slave trade ever to appear in print. Providing transcripts of 300 manuscript documents, it offers a wide-ranging compilation focusing on the operation of the slave trade in Britain, Africa and the Americas. Many items comprise commercial letters, written to and from Bristol by merchants, ship captains, agents on the west African coast, and factors in North America and the West Indies. But other types of documents are included, such as invoices, slave sales' lists, affidavits, lists of slave ships and trade goods, estimates of slave cargoes, diary extracts, and tables on the daily loading of slaves in Africa. More documents have survived for the last quarter of the eighteenth century than earlier periods, and the volume reflects this distribution of the extant material. Scholars and students will find much material of interest in the edited documents and their contextual footnotes for studying Bristol's role in the slave trade, in terms of the business procedures and the human elements of the commerce. The introduction to the volume provides a comprehensive assessment of Bristol's slave trade, with contrasts and comparisons made with Liverpool's slave trade.

DOCUMENTS ON THE BRISTOL SLAVE TRADE

Edited
by
Kenneth Morgan

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Abbreviations

Alpern, 'What Africans got for their Slaves'	Stanley B. Alpern, 'What Africans got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods,' *History in Africa*, 22 (1995)
Anstey and Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition*	Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition* (Liverpool, 1976)
Beaven, *Bristol Lists*	Alfred B. Beaven, *Bristol Lists, Municipal and Miscellaneous* (Bristol, 1899)
Bright, *Tales of Opportunity*	Primrose Danby Bright, *Tales of Opportunity: The Bright Family of Bristol and Hereford 1066-2020* (Melbourne, 2022)
Cave, *Bristol Banking*	Charles Henry Cave, *A History of Banking in Bristol from 1750 to 1899* (Bristol, 1899)
Davies, *Royal African Company*	K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957)
Donnan, ed., *Documents*	Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1930-5)
Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*	Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London, 2000)
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*	Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade: Setting the Record Straight* (New York, 1998)
Hamer et al., eds., *Laurens Papers*	Philip M. Hamer et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 16 vols. (Columbia, SC, 1968-2003)
Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*	Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750-1820* (Manchester, 2005)
HS	Historical Society
JEcH	*Journal of Economic History*
Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*	Sheila Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (Wilmington, DE, 1975)

Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Transition to Colonialism*	Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolitionism and the Colonialism in Sierra Leone* (Trenton, NJ, 2015)
Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*	H.C.G. Matthew and Brian H. Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)
Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*	W.E. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol in The Eighteenth Century*, Bristol Record Society, 20 (Bristol, 1957)
Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port*	W. E. Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century: The Petitions of the Society of Merchant Venturers 1698-1803*, Bristol Record Society, 23 (Bristol, 1963)
Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*	Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1993)
Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol'	Kenneth Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol' in Kristine Bruland and Patrick O'Brien, eds., *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism: Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Peter Mathias* (Oxford, 1998)
Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*	Kenneth Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers: A Bristol-West India Connection, 1732-1837* (Oxford, 2007)
Oliver, *History of Antigua*	Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua one of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the first settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (London, 1894)
Palmer, *Human Cargoes*	Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700-1739* (Urbana-Champaign, IL, 1981)
Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War*	J. W. Damer Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War* (Bristol, 1930)
Radburn, *Traders in Men*	Nicholas Radburn, *Traders in Men: Merchants and the Transformation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT, 2023)
RAC	Royal African Company

Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*	David Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders: A Collective Portrait* (Bristol, 1985)
Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*	David Richardson, ed., *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth Century Slave Trade to America. Volume 1. The Years of Expansion 1698-1729*, Bristol Record Society, 38 (Bristol, 1986)
Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*	David Richardson, ed., *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth Century Slave Trade to America. Volume 2. The Years of Ascendancy 1730-1745*, Bristol Record Society, 39 (Bristol, 1987)
Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*	David Richardson, ed., *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth Century Slave Trade to America. Volume 3. The Years of Decline 1746-1769*, Bristol Record Society, 42 (Bristol, 1991)
Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*	David Richardson, ed., *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth Century Slave Trade to America. Volume 4. The Final Years 1770-1807*, Bristol Record Society, 47 (Bristol, 1996)
Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*	David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz and Anthony Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool, 2007)
SCHM	*South Carolina Historical Magazine*
Sedgwick, ed., *House of Commons, 1715-1754*	Romney Sedgwick, ed., *History of Parliament: House of Commons, 1715-1754* (London, 1970)
SMV	Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol
Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*	Randy J. Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters: An African Port in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge, MA, 2014)
TBGAS	*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*	Jane Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage: A Historical Archaeology of British Slave Shipping, 1680-1807* (Oxford, 2023)
WMQ	*William and Mary Quarterly*

Glossary

Arrangoes	Beads used in Africa to purchase captives for the slave trade
Baft	Cheap, coarse cotton fabric, either blue or white
Bejutapaut	Medium quality striped and checked cottons from Gujarat. Striped or checked in deep red, blue or white
Brawle	Coarse-to-medium quality textiles from Gujarat
Breech guns	Guns for which ammunition is loaded at the breech end of the barrel
Buccaneer	A heavy hunting musket usually with a bore of ¾ inch and a barrel length of 40 inches
Byrampaut	Coarse, plain white calico, resembling Holland cloth, from Gujarat and the Deccan
Carrstors	Beaver skin hats, prestige goods as presents
Chilloe	Striped or check cotton cloth woven with coloured threads
Chintz	A painted or stained calico
Chorryderry	A striped mixed cotton and silk textile of medium-to-superior quality from Bengal
Coopees	Medium-to-superior cotton textiles from Bengal
Custees	Cushtaes, blue or white striped or checked cloth
Cuttanees	Cotton-and-silk cloth with a satin weave, usually striped
Ells	Units of measurement for linens
Fowling pieces	Smoothbore firearms loaded with shot
Hessen	A strong coarse hempen cloth, so called because it was originally made in Hesse, Germany
Linseys	Fabrics with linen warp and woollen weft threads
Musquetoons	Shorter barrelled muskets
Neganipaut	Medium quality blue and white cottons, striped or checked, from Gujarat
Neptune	Brass, copper or tin pan used for butchering and cleaning livestock, bathing, or boiling water to obtain salt
Niccanee	Blue-and-white striped cotton cloth, woven with dyed thread, used for skirts
Pipe	A cask for wine
Romal	Silk or cotton squares or handkerchiefs or thin silk and cotton fabrics
Runlet	Archaic word for a cask
Says	Fine woollens or worsteds made in England, Holland, Flanders and Germany
Silesias	Fine linen or cotton fabrics
Sledge maul	An axe with a wedge-shaped head used for splitting wood
Tapseils	English cotton fabrics of fine texture, with blue warp and white weft
Walnut proof guns	Guns made of black walnut which had density and strength and resistance to termites and moisture

Sources

[Richard Rolt], *A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (London, 1756); Stanley B. Alpern, 'What Africans got for their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods,' *History in Africa*, 22 (1995), pp. 6-7, 9, 15; K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 1978), appendix 4, pp. 500-5; Kenneth Morgan, ed., *An American Quaker in the British Isles: The Travel Journals of Jabez Maud Fisher, 1775-1779* (Oxford, 1992), p. 331; Kenneth Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers: A Bristol-West India Connection, 1732-1837* (Oxford, 2007), p. 672.

Documents on the Bristol slave trade – an introduction

Bristol has always been associated with the transatlantic slave trade and historians have discussed its role in this commerce in numerous publications.[1] It is therefore appropriate that the Bristol Record Society should devote a volume to a selection of documents on the subject. This has not occurred before, and indeed there are no published editions of slave trade material for any of England's record societies. The Bristol Record Society did publish four previous volumes on the Bristol slave trade, comprising calendars of the details of individual slaving voyages but with no transcribed documents. The calendars provide an invaluable resource for historians based on extensive primary research in many archives, providing a summary digest of ships, captains, owners, delivery of slaves and the main dates associated with individual voyages.[2] But what follows below is the first sustained attempt to present full documents on Bristol's slave trading connections based on material collected by myself over many years of investigation into this topic. There is too much primary material to fit into one printed volume, so my approach has been to select 300 individual items that throw an illuminating light on the organisation of the Bristol slave trade during its main period of activity from the ending of the monopoly of the Royal African Company in 1698 until the abolition of the British slave trade by act of parliament in 1807. It should be added that the volume deals with the slave trade, not slavery: there is no detailed consideration of the treatment of slaves by Bristolians or their connections in the colonies, nor with the impact on Bristol of slave-produced commodities.

This introduction has three intentions. First, it summarises the changing position of Bristol in the slave trade vis-à-vis the two other leading English slave trading ports, London and Liverpool. It is a story of rise, relative decline and fall. The analysis builds upon and extends the arguments made about Bristol's participation in the transatlantic slave trade in previous publications. Fuller accounts of the comparative performance of Bristol as a slave-trading port can be found in the publications listed in note 1. Attention should be drawn to the large online database

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1 Previous studies include C. M. MacInnes, *Bristol: A Gateway of Empire* (Bristol, 1939), pp. 194-213; C. M. MacInnes, *Bristol and the Slave Trade* (Bristol, 1963); W. E. Minchinton, 'The Slave Trade of Bristol with the British Mainland Colonies in North America 1699-1770' in Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition* (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 39-59; David Richardson, 'The Bristol Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century' (University of Manchester M.A. thesis, 1969); Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*; Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vols. 1-4*; Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 128-51; Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 7-52; Kenneth Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' *Historical Research*, 76, no. 192 (2003), pp. 189-216; David Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age",' *Slavery & Abolition*, 26, no. 1 (2005), pp. 36-54; Mark Steeds and Roger Ball, *From Wulstan to Colston: Severing the Sinews of Slavery in Bristol* (Bristol, 2020); and G. M. Best, *Bristol and Slavery* (Bristol, 2020). The history of one shipwrecked Bristol slaver is the subject of Nicholas Rogers, *Blood Waters: War, Disease and Race in the Eighteenth-Century British Caribbean* (Woodbridge, 2021), pp. 84-101, and James H. Sweet, *Mutiny on the Black Prince: Slavery, Piracy, and the Limits of Liberty in the Revolutionary Atlantic World* (Oxford, 2025). Information about Bristol's slave trading activities is also found in Nicholas Rogers, *Maritime Bristol in the Slave-Trade Era* (Woodbridge, 2024).

2 For these volumes see Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vols. 1-4*. The information included in the calendars has been updated for inclusion in the online Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org), described in n. 3 below.

that is now the best source for quantitative aspects of the slave trade.[3] Second, the introduction provides contextual information on the documentary evidence included in this volume. I have had to be selective because a large number of manuscript items survive on this topic. But my discussion here should alert readers to the full scope of what is available for research on Bristol's slave trade. Third, the introduction offers a commentary on major themes in the surviving documents on the Bristol slave trade included in this volume and what they reveal about the conduct and state of its role in what contemporaries called the 'Guinea' traffic. This should help readers – whether students or professional historians – to place the documents in an appropriate historical context. The documents are identified by their number in this volume, given in bold within square brackets.

The development of the Bristol slave trade in relation to other English ports, 1698-1807

Bristolians had been trading intermittently with the west African coast since the late sixteenth century, initially for gold and other goods but after c.1660 they were also interlopers in the slave trade. This trade was probably very modest in scale, amounting to little more than a handful of ships sent out to Africa and the Americas before 1698. Richard Stone has provided the most recent, detailed evaluation of the evidence on Bristol's slave trading before 1698. He has pointed to gaps in the available evidence that make it difficult to arrive at a definitive figure for Bristol's seventeenth-century slave trading voyages, but he has shown that ten voyages between 1662 and 1688 are known, or are suspected, to have fallen into this category. Therefore Bristol did participate intermittently in the transatlantic slave trade before the ending of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698 but on a very limited scale.[4]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, Bristol expanded its slave trade considerably, sending out 2,060 slaving voyages that carried 587,000 slaves between 1698 and 1807.[5] With London and Liverpool, Bristol was always among the three leading English slave trading ports, in terms of ships engaged in the commerce and enslaved people delivered to American markets: other English ports collectively accounted for fewer than 5 per cent of English slave trading voyages. Scottish and Welsh ports had minuscule involvement in handling slaving voyages. London, the home of the Royal African Company, easily dominated the slave trade from English ports while the company held a monopoly in the English slave trade until 1698, but thereafter, when the trade was opened up to private merchants, Bristol's merchants

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3 The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org) is currently hosted by Rice University, Texas. From spring 2025 it will transfer to Harvard University. This electronic database, cited frequently in this introduction and throughout the volume, includes data on c.35,000 slave trading voyages. It is the first port of call for historians wanting up-to-date information on the volume of the transatlantic slave trade. Based on wide-ranging archival research in numerous countries, the database overcomes missing data by including imputed numbers algorithmically where necessary. These have been accepted in the discussion below where the number of slave ships and slave deliveries are cited. Users of the database should read David Eltis, 'Methodology' in the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (www.slavevoyages.org).

4 Richard Stone, *Bristol and the Birth of the Atlantic Economy, 1500-1700* (Woodbridge, 2024), p. 196.

5 Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age",' p. 36.

soon offered strong competition.[6] Bristol traded with all seven West African areas that supplied slaves to English vessels – Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa.[7]

Bristol lagged behind London in the slave trade until 1726-30, when 199 ships from Bristol compared with 177 ships from London disembarked slaves in the Americas. It was in this period that Bristol reached its peak of sending out 11,000 enslaved Africans per year.[8] Liverpool lay well behind either of those two ports as it had only 28 ships delivering slaves to the Americas by 1726-30. Between 1725 and 1740, however, Bristol rose to become the leading English slaving port. By 1736-40 the number of ships disembarking Africans in the Americas came to 191 for Bristol, 98 for London and 134 for Liverpool. After c.1745 Liverpool competed successfully with both Bristol and London in the slave trade, and it began an inexorable rise to become the world's leading slaving port until the slave trade was abolished by parliamentary act in 1807. In every quinquennial period from 1741-5 to 1806-10 Liverpool ships in the slave trade always exceeded those from Bristol or London.[9]

David Richardson has identified significant reasons for the rise of Bristol's participation in slave trading in the period 1713-39. Bristolians were willing to invest considerable amounts of capital in the trade, sums which may have amounted annually to between £50,000 and £60,000 by 1713, to over £150,000 by the early 1730s, and to nearly £160,000 throughout the 1730s. In some years of peak Bristol activity, such as 1730-2 and 1737-8, the investment probably amounted to £200,000 annually. Bristol's slave merchants were notably efficient in their handling of slave cargoes in the early eighteenth century. By the mid-1720s they delivered about three-quarters of their intended complements of slaves to American markets, which helped to secure profits. Between 1713 and 1729 they improved the number of slaves they delivered in relation to the length of the middle passage. This appears to have resulted from improved loading rates of slaves in Africa and a reduction in mortality on the Middle Passage. After 1730 delivery rates and the average number of slaves disembarked by Bristol ships fluctuated, falling in the period 1730-4 and then recovering after 1735; but they did not regain the levels of the 1720s.[10]

Other reasons for Bristol's success in the British slave trade c.1713-39 can be adduced. Her slave merchants drew extensively on supplying foreign trade goods to Africa. From 1713 to 1729 between 50 and 60 per cent of exports from the English outports to Africa comprised foreign commodities. Bristol merchants with a substantial involvement in the slave trade often managed voyages regularly: nineteen agents managed 60 per cent of Bristol's voyages to Africa between 1698 and 1729. Bristolians also tapped slave supply areas in Africa that the Royal African Company

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6 The early history of the English slave trade before 1698 is discussed in several books, including Davies, *The Royal African Company*.

7 The imputed number of slaves taken over time by Bristol merchants from these areas is tabulated in www.slavevoyages.org.

8 Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age",' p. 37.

9 Numbers of slaving ships in this paragraph are taken from David Richardson, 'Liverpool and the Slave Trade' in Anthony Tibbles, ed., *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity* (London, 1994), pp. 70-6, and Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740-1807' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 14-42.

10 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, pp. xvii-xix, ii. xv.

had neglected. Whereas the company took most of its slaves from Gambia and the Gold Coast, Bristol slave traders made successful inroads into bartering for slaves in the Bight of Biafra, especially at Bonny and Calabar.[11] By c. 1720 Bristolians overtook Londoners as the largest English group of slave traders at Calabar.[12] Before 1730 Bristol took over half its slave cargoes from the Bight of Biafra.[13] Bristolians also competed successfully in rising markets for the delivery of slaves in the Americas, including an increased share of the slave trade to Barbados in the period 1713-20, a leading role in the British slave trade to Virginia c.1710-40, and an expanding role in the slave trade to Jamaica, the largest market for slaves in the British Caribbean and an island that attracted many Bristolians as sojourners, agents and traders.[14] About one-third of all slaves taken in Bristol ships to the Americas in the early 1730s were re-exported to Spanish American markets under the *asiento* agreement whereby Spain sub-contracted the licence for supplying captives to Spanish America to English ships.[15] Bristol's position in the slave trade was no doubt also strengthened by factors from the port being sent to conduct business in Jamaica, the Lesser Antilles and Virginia during the 1720s.[16]

Liverpool built up its role in the slave trade during the 1720s and 1730s. It had embarked on a programme of dock development from the early eighteenth century onwards that provided extra moorage for the port's burgeoning overseas trade; it was the only significant British port at this time where such improvements took place, and the construction was funded largely through the Liverpool Corporation.[17] These docks had flourishing shipbuilding yards and between 1701 and 1810 Liverpool was the place of build for 2,120 slaving vessels compared with 541 ships constructed at London and Bristol combined.[18] During wartime, Liverpool ships had the advantage of sailing around the north of Ireland, well out of the way of enemy privateers. In the peace years after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Liverpool increased its role in transatlantic trade as it benefited from considerable demographic growth, the emergence of a tight-knit mercantile oligarchy, diversified and growing overseas commerce, and closer trading ties with its manufacturing hinterland.[19] Larger firms attracted to the slave trade also emerged in Liverpool at this time.[20] Between 1700 and 1740 Liverpool merchants took advantage of market conditions to enter the Atlantic slave trade and the trades in staple commodities, notably in tobacco and sugar, grown

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11 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. xx-xxiii, xxvi, and Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, p. xvii.

12 Radburn, *Traders in Men*, p. 51.

13 Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age",' p. 43.

14 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. xxvii; Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 169-74; Kenneth Morgan, 'Bristol West India Merchants in the Eighteenth Century,' *TRHS*, 6th series, 3 (1993), pp. 185-208.

15 Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 140; Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, p. xxi.

16 [James Wallace], *A General and Descriptive History of the Ancient and Present State, of the Town of Liverpool, ...The Whole Carefully Compiled from Original Manuscripts, Authentic Records, and Other Warranted Authorities* (Liverpool, 1795), p. 213.

17 F. E. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey: An Economic History of a Port, 1700-1970* (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 13-15, 72-7; M. J. Power, 'Councillors and Commerce in Liverpool, 1650-1750,' *Urban History*, 24 (1999), pp. 301-23.

18 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 19.

19 Paul G. E. Clemens, 'The Rise of Liverpool, 1665-1750,' *EcHR*, 29, no. 2 (1976), pp. 211-18.

20 Ibid., pp. 219, 221.

on plantations based on slave labour.[21]

In his contemporary history of Liverpool written in the 1790s, James Wallace argued, partly on the basis of oral tradition, that Liverpool had been more flexible than Bristol in dealing with the delivery of slaves to Spanish American markets c.1722-40. This, he suggested, was one of the main reasons for her rise to ascendancy in the slave trade and for her growing interest in Anglo-Caribbean commerce. He stated that Manchester's textile products, notably checks, stripes, osnaburghs (i.e. German linens) and handkerchiefs, were vended in large quantities during this period by Liverpool merchants to the British West Indies. Spanish American traders bought them in large quantities, paid for them with Spanish dollars, and the specie thereby gained was sent back to Liverpool and Manchester, where it could be partly used to fund slave trading voyages. The Spanish preferred to acquire manufactured textiles in this way rather than pay prohibitive customs duties to their home government.[22]

Given Bristol's success in the slave trade during the 1730s, why did her role in the trade experience relative decline from the mid-1740s onwards? One explanation is that her merchants were out-competed by Liverpudlians. Between 1751 and 1760 Bristol vessels took 48,559 slaves from Africa while Liverpool ships gathered 86,094. Liverpool ships increased their lead over Bristol in the number of slaves taken from Africa in each subsequent decade up to the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. It was a similar story with slave deliveries. Between 1751 and 1760 Liverpool disembarked 98,779 slaves in American markets whereas Bristol delivered 50,367. In each decade up to slave trade abolition Liverpool merchants easily sold more slaves in the Americas than Bristolians.[23] By the 1750s and 1760s, the only slave markets in the Caribbean where Bristolians competed effectively with Londoners and Liverpudlians were smaller islands such as St. Kitts and Antigua.[24]

Bristol's declining role in expanding slave markets was partly caused by trading difficulties in wartime. Already in 1740 the Bristol merchant Graffin Prankard noted that the 'Guinea' trade had declined to a great extent at Bristol and was unlikely to revive.[25] Bristol slave traders cut back on African voyages at this time because of the threat posed by enemy privateers in the English Channel. They lobbied parliament to request naval protection for their slave ships on the African coast.[26] By 1745 so many French and Spanish privateers were cruising in the English Channel that ships could scarcely pass to the African coast. The result was that 'all trade to ye Coast & other places is Laid aside' at Bristol and 'the most is privateering.'[27] Bristol accounted for 132 commissioned privateering vessels between 1739 and 1748.[28] Bristol's switch from slave trading to privateering during the war years of the 1740s may have resulted from a reluctance to pay higher insurance premiums on ships and freight.[29]

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21 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 17.

22 [Wallace], *A General and Descriptive History*, pp. 203, 207-8, 210.

23 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' pp. 25, 30-1.

24 Ibid., p. 30. Cf. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. xxx.

25 Somerset Heritage Centre, Graffin Prankard to P. & R. Mackey, 14 Jan, 1740, and to Francis Jennings, 16 July 1740, Graffin Prankard letterbooks, DD/DN 428-9.

26 Petition of the SMV to the House of Commons, 2 Apr. 1744, and Walter Lougher to M.P.'s, 27 Feb. 1745, in Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port of Bristol*, pp. 57, 60-1.

27 Richard Meyler to Henry Bright, 11 June 1745, in Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 188.

28 David J. Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool, 1990), pp. 121, 124, 126.

29 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, p. xiv.

Liverpool merchants, by contrast, only dispatched 79 private ships-of-war during the war years of 1739-48.[30] They appear to have concentrated more at this juncture on establishing connections in the slave trade that could be capitalised upon in the long run rather than the more rapid gains that accrued from snapping up foreign prize vessels. Liverpool ships avoided marauders by sending ships around the north of Ireland and into the Atlantic. The relative safety of Liverpool's shipping from attack in setting out on long-distance voyages enabled her to emerge from the War of the Austrian Succession with a greater share of the trades in slaves and Caribbean produce.[31]

Later, during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), Bristol traders declined sending ships to Africa and were not concerned 'to venture their Fortunes abroad at this Juncture.'[32] The uncertainty of sea lanes during wartime undoubtedly influenced this decision: there were, for instance, no men-of-war dispatched by the government to protect British shipping from French privateers on the coast of West Africa.[33] In 1762 a petition from Bristol's Society of Merchant Venturers to the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain stated that the slave trade 'has at times during the course of the present war been greatly annoyed by the enemy's ships of war and privateers, particularly so of late, by reason whereof the risque is become so great and the premium for insurance so high and they and other traders to Africa labour under such great discouragement that the trade is already greatly lessened.'[34] In response to these wartime disruptions, a good many Bristol slave traders converted their ships into privateers.[35] Bristol fitted out more commissioned vessels (253 in all) and claimed more prize condemnations (81) than any other British outport during the war.[36] This represented a somewhat high risk strategy because Bristol's investor network for such voyages was lower than Liverpool's.[37] Concentration on privateering deflected investment from normal trading voyages. 'I fear the great Attention to Privateering out of your City has much hurted the Trade of it,' a Bristolian based in Jamaica noted, 'for there is Ten Times the Business carried on from Liverpool to this Island than from your City, & a great trade from London in the Linen way.'[38] This lost ground was never recovered.

Several other factors affected the downturn in the Bristol slave trade by the late 1740s. Investment in slaving voyages was usually spread among several ad hoc partners who joined together for individual ventures and took shares in the ship's

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30 Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise*, pp. 121, 124, 126.

31 Ibid., pp. 247, 271; Clemens, 'The Rise of Liverpool,' p. 219; Patrick Crowhurst, *The Defence of British Trade, 1689-1815* (Folkestone, 1977), p. 66.

32 Somerset Heritage Centre, Isaac Baugh to Henry Strachey, 6 Feb. 1762, Strachie MSS, box 27, folder 4.

33 Eveline Martin, ed., *Nicholas Owen, Journal of a Slave Dealer* (London, 1930), p. 80.

34 Petition of the SMV to the Lords Commissioners…, 25 Mar. 1762, in Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port of Bristol*, p. 95.

35 This is documented in Damer Powell, *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* and Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*. The commercial arrangements of Bristol slavers fitted out with letters-of-marque are well illustrated in New York HS, Miscellaneous MSS. Ships: Ship *Cornwall*, Articles of Agreement, 20 Sept. 1759.

36 Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise*, pp. 165, 181; John Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol* (Bristol, 1903), pp. 202-3.

37 Rogers, *Maritime Bristol in the Slave-Trade Era*, p. 151.

38 Jeremiah Meyler to Richard Meyler, Sr, 29 Sept. 1759, in Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, pp. 358-9.

outset, cargo and proceeds. Between 1730 and 1760 most Bristol slaving voyages had from two to five shareholders, though some had six, eight or even ten.[39] But such a division of ownership was not necessarily advantageous: at least one American merchant considered that the Bristol slave trade was 'casual and uncertain' because, with various investors in one venture, it was often impossible to ensure the arrival of a vessel with slaves at a particular market.[40] Equally significant, it seems, was the erosion of Bristol's slaving activity by French competition on parts of the African coast. In the mid-1730s nearly half of Bristol's slave ships apparently purchased whole complements of slaves on the Windward and Gold Coasts. But the great increase in French slaving on the Gold Coast, especially at Anomabu, reduced Bristol's trade there to an appreciable degree in the period 1737-44 without the Bristolians increasing their trade to other parts of the African coast. [41] By 1750, Bristol merchants also complained about stagnant trade with the Spaniards: they considered that slave trading with Jamaica would not be worthwhile until the Spanish American market recovered.[42]

Besides these problems, David Richardson found that Bristol failed to produce lasting dynasties in the slave trade by the 1740s. Five of the leading 26 Bristol slave agents in the 1720s and 1730s died as bachelors and a further ten died without leaving a direct male heir. [43] The leading agents of Bristol slaving voyages were always an elite group, in the sense that a relatively small number of men managed a high proportion of voyages.[44] The leading agents were also specialised: there was little overlap between them and the major tobacco and sugar merchants at Bristol.[45] The Liverpool merchant community appears to have been more flexible. Liverpudlians traded in various transatlantic trades and seem to have experienced little general difficulty in switching their commercial interests in tune with changing opportunities. Sugar and tobacco merchants overlapped at Liverpool; both groups can also be found engaging in slaving ventures.[46] Some family dynasties were formed in the Liverpool slave trade. The Tarletons, Leylands and Heywoods, all beneficiaries of family wealth, were among the prominent Liverpool slave traders for more than one generation: this was uncommon in the Bristol slave trade.[47] Yet one should not stress this factor too much, as Richardson does, because it was relatively uncommon to find family dynasties flourishing in the slave trade at British ports.

From the 1740s onwards onwards Bristol's Africa merchants were also outpaced by the business acumen of their Liverpool counterparts. A Bristolian visiting

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39 Richardson, 'Bristol Slave Trade,' p. 48.

40 Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, Richard Hill to John Guerard, 16 Sept. 1743, Richard Hill letterbook (1743).

41 TNA, CO 388/43, Bb 100, Charles Hayes to the Board of Trade, 31 Dec. 1744.

42 Henry Bright to Richard Meyler II, 25 July 1750, in Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 226; Henry Bright to Richard Meyler, 22 Aug. 1750, document no. 38 in this volume.

43 Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, pp. 9-10.

44 See the list of leading Bristol slave traders in ibid., pp. 29-30.

45 See the personnel listed in Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 144, 161, 194-5.

46 Clemens, 'The Rise of Liverpool,' p. 219.

47 Gail Cameron and Stan Crooke, *Liverpool - Capital of the Slave Trade* (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 19-24; David Richardson, *The Tarleton Papers* (Wakefield, 1975). The relatively few family dynasties in Liverpool's slave trade can be discerned from David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Slave Merchants of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 194-207.

Liverpool in 1773 noted of the slave trade that 'the Liverpool People go on with such spirit,' adding that they apparently had a plentiful supply of ships for this trade.[48] Contemporaries drew attention to the cheaper prices that Liverpudlians sold slaves for in the Americas, while still making profits, one account stating that Liverpool factors in Jamaica could 'sell their slaves to the islanders four and five pounds per head less than London and Bristol, and at the same time afford themselves equal profit.' Contemporaries also stressed the lower fees that Liverpool slave merchants paid their ship captains and factors. Bristol, merchants, it was argued, paid their captains monthly and paid their primage, daily port charges and cabin privileges; they also allowed factors in the Caribbean 5 per cent on slave sales and 5 per cent on returns. Liverpool slave merchants, however, paid their captains annual salaries and did not pay cabin privileges, port allowances or primage; nor did they paid their factors a percentage rate but rather an annual salary.[49]

Liverpool merchants had other advantages in the slave trade. They seem to have had access to as many ships as they required for the trade, and to have kept the business confined to fewer hands than was the case at Bristol.[50] They were allowed two years' credit for goods by Manchester tradesmen rather than the nine months common in the Bristol slave trade.[51] By the 1750s and 1760s Liverpool slave merchants showed more enterprise in directing their trade to west African coastal areas such as Sierra Leone, the Cameroons and Gabon whereas Bristolians, adopting a more conservative approach, continued to trade with Angola and the Gold Coast instead.[52]

Liverpool slave traders, in addition, had significant advantages over Bristol in the supply of exports to Africa. Coarse woollen goods were common among exports in the slave trade during Queen Anne's reign, but by 1740 most textiles in the trade were East India commodities.[53] During wartime Bristol Guinea traders sometimes experienced difficulty in obtaining foreign-produced goods, which comprised 50-60 per cent of their exports to Africa.[54] 'Bristol's evident reliance upon foreign supplies of essential trade goods for Africa,' it has been claimed, 'was perhaps its Achilles heel as a slaving port in the long term.'[55] By 1765 foreign manufactured goods had increased greatly in price, some by as much as 100 per cent in twenty years. Liverpool slave traders procured these goods cheaply in the Netherlands, where beads and other export items were more widely available, less expensive, and better assorted than in

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48 Lowbridge Bright to Bright, Milward & Duncombe, 5 Nov. 1773, in Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 450.

49 See the contemporary comments quoted in C. Northcote Parkinson, *The Rise of the Port of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1952), pp. 93-5.

50 University of Melbourne Archives, Richard Meyler to Henry Bright, 23 Oct. 1750, box 7, and Lowbridge Bright to Bright, Milward & Duncombe, 5 Nov. 1773, in Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 450; Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 19.

51 Bristol Archives, Henry Bright to Richard Bright, 28 Jan. 1772, Letters of the Brights of Colwall, 1772, Bright Papers; Robert Norris, *A Short Account of the African Slave Trade* (Liverpool, 1788), p. 10.

52 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, pp. xx-xxi.

53 Bristol Archives, John Pearce to Edward Southwell, 16 July 1740, Southwell Papers, vol. 5, acc. 44785.

54 David Richardson, 'West African Consumption Patterns and their influence on the Eighteenth-Century English Slave Trade' in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays on the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1979), pp. 303-30.

55 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. xx.

England. They acquired cheap brass battery, arms, gunpowder and spirits from the Netherlands via the Isle of Man, to the detriment of the Bristol slave trade.[56]

English cottons and linens first began to compete effectively with East India textiles among exports sent by British slave ships to Africa in the period 1749-58. By that time English linen and cotton industries were making their mark over import substitution. Textiles comprised, in quantity and by value, the most important type of wares traded for African captives, and lighter fabrics than woollens were essential for clothing slaves on plantations. Since the English cotton and linen industries flourished within a sixty-mile radius of Liverpool, it is not surprising to find that these commodities had an increased share among 'Guinea' cargoes at a time when Liverpool was consolidating its rise in the slave trade.[57] Bristol's hinterland lacked the cottons and linens that flourished in south Lancashire; the latter were fashioned cheaply but with good quality and no effective British competition.[58]

A growing industrial base in Liverpool that included textile production, metal manufacturing and glassworks, along with rapidly accelerating population and a wide base of human capital, all aided exports supplied to Liverpool's slave trade.[59] A burgeoning hinterland that experienced industrial and demographic growth along with improved communications also aided Liverpool's overseas commercial endeavours, including the slave trade, by providing suitable goods for exports from the surrounding environs of the city, a growing consumer market for imported products, and interior arteries that could be tapped for the supply and distribution of goods. Any limitations to the extent and growth of hinterlands around port cities could lead to relative decline in trading activity, as at Bristol where a slower rate of demographic and industrial growth impacted on the level of trading activity in the eighteenth century. Bristol was the third largest city in England, with approximately 20,000 inhabitants, in 1700. A century later, with a population of 60,000, Bristol was only the sixth largest British city. Bristol had industries that were connected to the slave trade, such as shipbuilding, sugar refining, copper and brass manufacture, glass-making and soapboiling. There were also a number of gunpowder works in the city's hinterland. These industries were predominantly geared towards the domestic market, though non-ferrous metals and gunpowder were also loaded on board Africa-bound vessels. Much of Bristol's hinterland consisted of scattered agricultural settlements that lacked the population growth, structural change, and industrialisation experienced by Liverpool's hinterland in the later eighteenth century.[60]

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56 Bristol Archives, Isaac Baugh to Robert Nugent, 22 Jan. 1760, and Isaac Elton to Robert Nugent, 15 Jan. 1765, Society of Merchant Venturers letterbook (1753-80); TNA, CO 388/95 I (4), Representation of John Murray to the Earl of Halifax, 10 Apr. 1765.

57 Marion Johnson, ed. Robert Ross and J. T. Lindblad, *Anglo-African Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1990).

58 A. P. Wadsworth and Julia de Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (Manchester, 1931), p. 158.

59 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 18, and Stephen D. Behrendt, 'Human Capital in the British Slave Trade' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 66-97.

60 Kenneth Morgan, 'The Economic Development of Bristol, 1700-1850' in Madge Dresser and Philip Ollerenshaw, eds., *The Making of Modern Bristol* (Tiverton, 1996), pp. 48-75; Brenda J. Buchanan, 'The African Trade and the Bristol Gunpowder Industry,' *TBGAS*, 118 (2000), pp. 133-56; David Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England: Bristol and its Region, 1680-1730* (Exeter, 2000), pp. 67, 75, 197.

Bristol's contribution to the late phase of the British slave trade was largely confined to peacetime: 412 of her slaving voyages from 1770 to 1807 were fitted out in peacetime compared with 129 in war years. This continued the aversion towards slave trading in wartime that had characterised the Bristol slave trade during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.[61] And even in peacetime, Bristol's slave-trading activity was clustered into a number of years. Thus 146 (27 per cent) of Bristol's slave trading voyages undertaken between 1770 and 1807 can be traced to the years 1789-92.[62] This clustering points to a selective involvement in slave trading at Bristol, with investors participating during years when commercial prospects seemed good but otherwise keeping out of the trade. Overall between 1770 and 1807 over 70 per cent of Bristol's slave vessels traded at just two African coastal regions: the Bight of Biafra and the Gold Coast.[63] In the same period, Liverpool exceeded Bristol's gathering of slaves in all west African regions - Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa.[64] After 1783 Bristol failed to attract a wide range of investors to supply capital for the slave trade: individuals or small partnerships were common among shareholders.[65] During the early 1780s Liverpool traded with a wider range of west African regions, and American and West Indian colonies where slaves were taken, and with more foreign territories than either Bristol or London.[66]

Bristol still had a substantial investment in the slave-sugar Atlantic nexus by the late 1780s, including important commitments to West India trade.[67] Despite its declining role in the late eighteenth-century slave trade, however, Bristol invested around £288,000 per year in transatlantic slaving and its income from slave-related activities – the value of ships and cargoes in the West India trade, commissions, profits, refining produce, crew earnings, loans to planters – amounted to about £550,000 annually. Richardson's calculations suggest that 'some 40 per cent of Bristol's income in 1790 may have arisen from activities linked to slave economies.'[68]

In the late 1780s the British slave trade was subject to intense scrutiny by abolitionists, by the Privy Council, and by various parliamentary committees. Dolben's Act (1788) became the first parliamentary legislation to restrict the number of slaves carried into the Middle Passage according to the tonnage of a vessel.[69] Defenders of the slave trade and anti-slave trade campaigners were active in London and throughout provincial Britain, notably in Bristol and Liverpool. In 1788 Bristol was the first British town to have a provincial anti-slave trade committee set up, with the object of total abolition of the slave trade. The city's newspapers in that year included much discussion of pro- and anti-slave trade views.[70]

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61 See above, pp. 5-6

62 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, pp. xvi-xviii, xxiv.

63 Ibid., vol. 4, p. xxiv.

64 Comparative figures for Bristol and Liverpool are tabulated in Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 25.

65 David Richardson, 'Rogers, James (c. 1740-1799)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 47, p. 554; Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age",' p. 39.

66 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 31.

67 Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 184-218.

68 Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age",' pp. 48-9.

69 Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, pp. 78-9, 144-5, 163-4, 256-7.

70 A. M. Richards, 'The Connection of Bristol with the African Slave Trade, with some account of the currents of public opinion in the city' (University of Bristol M. A. thesis, 1923), pp. 43-69.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the final phase of legal British slave trading, Liverpool's control over the British slave trade continued.[71] Bristol's transatlantic slaving had virtually collapsed by 1800. In most delivery areas for slaves Bristol was no longer involved; and the only area to which her shippers disembarked more than a thousand slaves in the first decade of the nineteenth century was Guiana. In fact, Bristol's slave trade had been sapped already by 1793 by the bankruptcies among her merchants in the credit crisis of that year, notably the principal casualty, James Rogers; by the death of the leading Bristol slave merchant James Jones in 1795; and by the fact that her slaving voyages were attracting relatively few investors by that time.[72]

William Mathews wrote in a guide to Bristol in 1793 that 'the ardour for the Trade to Africa for men and women, our fellow creatures and equals, is much abated among the humane and benevolent Merchants of Bristol. In 1787 there were but 30 ships employed in this melancholy traffic; while the people of Liverpool in their indiscriminate rage for Commerce and for getting money at all events have nearly engrossed this Trade.'[73] This was clearly a polemical attack on Liverpool, intended to circumvent the common criticism of Bristol's participation in the slave trade by tarring her great rival in the trade.[74] In April 1796 it was noted that the African business had ended at Bristol.[75]

In 1801 Simon Taylor wrote from Kingston that 'Bristol seems to have lost its Trade altogether, there has not been a ship sent from this port to Bristol for some years, & their Trade is dwindling to nothing.'[76] An anti-abolitionist movement had made an impact on slave trading at Bristol, though the extent to which moral sentiments trumped economic pragmatism at this juncture is unclear.[77] Additionally, Bristol again displayed a reluctance to continue slave trading on a full scale in wartime, which fits in with her caution in previous eighteenth-century wars.[78] But though Bristol had withdrawn from slave trading by 1800, her merchants still carried on a lucrative direct trade in manufactured goods and sugar, rum and molasses with the Caribbean and her traders had substantial investments in West Indian sugar plantations.[79]

Bristol developed an extensive, post-abolition trade with Africa, mainly in palm oil, but there was no overlap among her merchants between slave trading and palm oil trading. Bristol was the second port in Britain's African commerce for much of

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71 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' pp. 25, 31.

72 Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. xxxvi; Kenneth Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' *Historical Research*, 76, no. 192 (2003), pp. 189-216.

73 William Mathews, *The New History, Survey and Description of the City and Suburbs of Bristol, or Complete Guide and Bristol Directory for the Year 1793-4* (Bristol, 1794), pp. 38-9.

74 Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 128-9.

75 Somerset Heritage Centre, George Dyer to [Henry Strachey], 22 Apr. 1796, box 27, folder 7, Strachie MSS, DD/SH C/1165.

76 Cambridge University Library, Simon Taylor to Chaloner Arcedeckne, 15 Aug. 1801, Vanneck MSS.

77 Peter Marshall, 'The Anti-Slave Trade Movement in Bristol' in Patrick McGrath, ed., *Bristol in the Eighteenth Century* (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 185-215; Timo Böhm and Henning Hillman, 'A Closed Elite? Bristol's Society of Merchant Venturers and the Abolition of Slave Trading' in *Chartering Capitalism: Organizing Markets, States, and Publics (Political Power and Social Theory, vol. 29)* (Leeds, 2015), pp. 147-75; Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 162-87.

78 Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade,' p. 21.

79 Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 190; Morgan, 'Bristol West India Merchants,' pp. 185-208; Richard Pares, *A West-India Fortune* (London, 1950).

the nineteenth century, but its palm oil trade was a modest proportion of the total British trade in that product until after 1850. Continuity of firms trading with Africa from Bristol before and after 1807 lay more in the connection between those pursuing legitimate commodity trade with Africa who then entered the palm oil trade. Bristol continued its trade with the Caribbean, despite the loss of the slave trade, and over half of her foreign trade was conducted with the sugar islands for generations after 1807. This trade was bolstered by ownership of plantations, usually on an absentee basis, by Bristol merchants down to the 1830s.[80]

Documents included in the volume

Many items included in the volume are examples of mercantile correspondence, which was the main means through which businessmen (and sometimes businesswomen) established mutual reliability over long distances.[81] Merchants maintained an extensive correspondence with ship captains, overseas factors and agents to provide details on their commercial intentions and decisions in a trading world where such letters were the main means of communication. Some letters were written to, or received by, people who were personally known to merchants, such as ship captains appointed by merchants and family members sojourning or living in the Americas. But many letters were addressed to, or received by, correspondents unknown personally to merchants. The majority of the commercial letters in this volume comprise incoming correspondence written to Bristol merchants by ship captains and West Indian agents and factors. These letters include many details of trading practices, the state of markets, commodity prices and shipping and sale procedures, emphasising the captains' and agents' efforts to serve the merchants' best interests in the light of a multitude of problems that might beset the trade. They provide a strong sense of how complex the slave trade was for participants.

This volume includes examples of many other types of documents generated by the slave trade – lists of slave ships based at Bristol, estimates for the purchase of slave cargoes, representations from Bristol merchants to the Board of Trade, daily deaths of slaves on the Middle Passage, slave sales, lists of crew on slaving voyages, depositions from those involved in slaving voyages, extracts from a diary of an abolitionist on his visits to Bristol, and petitions concerning the slave trade. The material available is unevenly spread across the eighteenth century. The first document included dates from 1719, material before that date for Bristol being scarce. The last two decades of the eighteenth century are heavily represented as the survival of material for that period is much greater than for earlier years.

It is worth adding some information on the main collections of documents relating to the Bristol slave trade included in this volume. Few comprehensive archives of Bristol slave merchants are extant, though some are noted below. Even large slave traders, such as Sir James Laroche, are poorly documented in commercial letters.[82]

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80 Martin Lynn, 'Bristol, West Africa and the Nineteenth-Century Palm Oil Trade,' *Historical Research* 64, no. 155 (1991), pp. 359-61; Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 28, 33, 83-4; Peter Marshall, *Bristol and the Abolition of Slavery: The Politics of Emancipation*, (Bristol, 1973).

81 On this theme see Pat Hudson, 'Correspondence and Commitment: British Traders' Letters in the Long Eighteenth Century,' *Cultural and Social History*, 11, no. 4 (2014), pp. 527-53.

82 James Laroche wrote only three letters included in this edition.

Very few letters survive that were written by Africans trading with Bristol ships, but five separate letters by African traders – three for 1769, one for 1773 and one for 1789 – have been published.[83] Bristol itself has relatively few relevant manuscripts deposited in its city archives. The best collection there comprises the letters addressed to Isaac Hobhouse for the 1720s and early 1730s. These are found in volume 13 of the C. T. Jefferies Collection. Only the inward correspondence survives.[84] There is also one separate letter of 1740 written to Hobhouse and a business partner.[85] Bristol Archives also holds the ledger of the slaving ship the *Jason Gally* (1743), the logbook of the *Black Prince* (1762), the account book of the snow *Africa* (1774-6), muster rolls of the crew sailing on slaving vessels, and papers relating to the slave trade concerning the Bright family.[86] Scattered documents relating to the Bristol slave trade can be found in other British archives. Amongst them are letters written by ship captains deposited at the University of Bristol Library and the Gloucestershire Record Office, and a few letters by a surgeon who sailed on several Bristol slaving voyages in the 1750s, which are deposited in the National Library of Scotland.[87] The National Maritime Museum holds material relating to the Bright family interest in the slave trade as well as the account book of the *Hector* (1770-3).[88]

The two largest collections of manuscripts still available on Bristol's slaving ventures are the Bright Family Papers at the University of Melbourne Archives and the James Rogers Papers, which are part of Chancery Masters' Exhibits in the National Archives, Kew.[89] Both have been preserved in a comprehensive manner because the merchants involved had to provide evidence in court about their trading activities. The Bright Family Papers are extensive; they comprise commercial correspondence,

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83 See Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, 'Letters of the Old Calabar Slave Trade, 1770-1789' in Vincent Carretta and Philip Gould, eds., *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic* (Lexington, KY, 2001), pp. 102-3, 107-8, 111.

84 Bristol Archives, Correspondence to Isaac Hobhouse and partners, C. T. Jefferies Collection, vol. 13, acc. 44784/13. Material on the slave trade from this collection and other manuscript documents on Bristol's slave trade have been published in Donnan, ed., *Documents*, vol. 2, pp. 297-300, 323-9, 382-3, 387-8, 431-3, 444-6, 464-7, 471-2, 501-3, and vol. 4, pp. 100-2, 120-1, 305, 316-17, 324, 328-9, 331-2, 345, 383, 403-4, 431-2, 440-1. Hobhouse traded in other transatlantic lines of commerce: see Walter E. Minchinton, ed., 'The Virginia Letters of Isaac Hobhouse, merchant of Bristol,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 66, no. 3 (1958), pp. 278-301; Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, pp. 93-101; George C. Rogers, Jr, 'Two Joseph Wragg Letters,' *SCHM*, 65, no. 1 (1964), pp. 16-19; and W. E. Minchinton, 'Shipbuilding in Colonial Rhode Island,' *Rhode Island History*, 20, no. 4 (1961), pp. 119-24.

85 Benjamin A. King & Robert Arbuthnot to Isaac Hobhouse & Stephen Baugh, 24 Nov. 1740, document no. 27 below.

86 Some transcripts of voyages by the *Jason Gally* appear in Alison Brown and Jonathan Harlow, eds., *Atlantic Venture Accounts of Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, 74 (2021), pp. 9-22. For details on the snow *Africa*, see W. E. Minchinton, 'The Voyage of the snow *Africa*,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, 37, no. 3 (1951), pp. 187-96. Ships' muster rolls for Bristol have been analysed in Jonathan Press, *The Merchant Seamen of Bristol, 1747-1789* (Bristol, 1976).

87 See Gloucestershire Record Office, Miscellaneous Correspondence of Richard Prankard, and National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Richard Holden letters, Holden of Baldovie MSS.

88 Caird Library and Archive, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, An account book of the slave ship *Molly* at Bonny, AML/Y/2, and Accounts and letterbooks of the ship *Hector* (1770-3).

89 The Bright Family Papers are mainly housed at the University of Melbourne Archives, which has a detailed online listing of the collection. For the content of this collection, see Kenneth Morgan, 'The Bright Family Papers,' *Archives*, 22, no. 97 (1997), pp. 119-29, and Bright, *Tales of Opportunity*. On the Rogers Papers, see Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' pp. 189-216.

invoices, slave sales' lists and ledgers covering Bristol's slave trade with Jamaica. They are, in fact, papers of two Bristol mercantile families – the Brights and the Meylers – who were connected by family business partnerships. These records were taken out to Australia by a member of the Bright family at the time of the Victorian gold rush in the 1850s.[90] Additional records associated with the Meyler family are preserved in private hands in the Jane Bright Collection, Portsea, Victoria, Australia. The James Rogers Papers are even more bulky; they comprise thousands of loose letters, invoices, slave sales' lists, portledge bills, marine insurance documents and suppliers' notes all gathered together for a legal case after Rogers's bankruptcy in 1793.[91] Two collections in the United States also include correspondence relating to the Bristol slave trade. Duke University Library holds the Richard Hill letterbook (1743) of a Charleston merchant who visited Bristol where he enquired about the slave trade.[92] The William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, has letters concerning the Bristol slave trade in the 1790s in the Tailyour Papers.[93] A logbook of the Bristol slave ship *Britannia* for 1776-7 is among the collections of the Harlan Crow Library, Dallas, Texas.

Commentary on the Documents

The 300 documents reproduced in this volume cover a wide range of details connected with Bristol's role in the triangular slave trade, including the gathering of export goods from Bristol, its hinterland and wider afield; the instructions Bristol merchants gave to their ship captains about their voyages; descriptions of the collection of captives in West Africa and the ethnic, age and gender profile of slaves; the specifics of slave sales in the Americas, including average prices achieved for cargoes, the business connections with factors organising the sales, and the methods used for payments ensuring that such remittances were paid in a timely manner. There are also documents covering trade practices in Africa, resistance by captives to their bondage, and information on the crew and surgeons involved in Bristol's transatlantic slaving activities, and the impact of war on Bristol's slave trade **[e.g. 31, 42, 49, 51, 120, 137]**.

In the early eighteenth century, when Bristol became a significant slave trading port, merchants argued over the merits and demerits of the organisation of British transatlantic slaving activity by a large chartered trading organisation, the Royal

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90 For transcripts of 313 items from the collection, see Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*.

91 The James Rogers Papers, comprising 20,000 items of mainly incoming correspondence, are deposited at the National Archives, Kew, under C 107/1-15, 59. Complete photocopies of the collection are available at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, United States. These papers have been used in Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' pp. 189-216. Thirteen documents relating to slaving voyages of Rogers's ship the *African Queen* are transcribed in Audra A. Diptee, *From Africa to America: The Making of an Atlantic Slave Society, 1776-1807* (Gainesville, FL, 2010), pp. 119-38. Other slaving documents in the Rogers Papers have been transcribed and published in Audra A. Diptee and David V. Trotman, eds., *Letters from the Voyages of the Slave Ship Pearl* (Kingston, 2018).

92 The Richard Hill letterbook (1743) is deposited in the Small Manuscripts Collection at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, United States.

93 The Tailyour Family Papers, 1743-2003, are deposited in the Daniel Livesay Manuscript Division, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, United States.

African Company, vis-à-vis private merchants operating by themselves or in partnerships. The Royal African Company held a monopoly over the English slave trade until 1698 when its charter was rescinded by parliament and the trade thrown open to private merchants, who soon demonstrated more flexibility and reliability than the company in supplying slaves to the Americas.[94] Two documents in this volume include representations from several Bristol merchants in the mid-1720s claiming that the delivery of slaves by private merchants far exceeded that of the company, that a 'free and open trade to Africa is much more beneficial to the public than a trade carried on by a joint stock company,' and that, in particular, the company's forts, trading castles and settlements in West Africa were very expensive and unnecessary for the supply of slaves to ships **[6]**. These judgements were supported by the Bristol merchant John Becher's submission to the Board of Trade in 1726, an extended discussion of the wasteful expense of Royal African Company's West African establishments **[7]**.

Slaving merchants and shipowners organised voyages that competed with other providers, and, in order to organise shipments of slaves efficiently, they needed as much commercial information as possible about ships' complements and intended destinations. Several documents provided such information by listing the individual names of ships, their masters and their tonnage **[4, 36, 113]**. Ships' outsets provided details of the tradesmen who supplied goods for voyages, and one example of such a list is reproduced **[71]**. Gathering goods for export cargoes to exchange for slaves in Africa required careful assortments of commodities to be assembled because African consumers had detailed knowledge of the type, price, quality and range of goods, indicating their sophistication in judging which commodities could be bartered successfully for slaves in their west African region.[95]

Bristol merchants obtained brassware, hardware, glassware, gunpowder and other commodities from their own locality, from the West Midlands and even more distant areas. Access to such wares was aided by capital investment by Bristol merchants in its hinterland.[96] But just as important were the goods, often East India textiles or their replicas sourced from London warehouses **[84, 104]** or Manchester tradesmen **[83, 152]**. In the case of the latter, Bristol slave traders were able to take advantage of a generous credit period of 12-18 months before they had to settle their accounts with suppliers **[95]**. Two documents list the assortment of goods estimated by a Bristol merchant for a slave voyage to the Bight of Benin in 1769. In the first, various beads are listed as currency equivalents to purchase slaves in Africa **[61]**. In the second, various types of trade goods are mentioned, including guns and gunpowder, Manchester-made imitations of East India textiles, alcohol, metalware, beads and hats **[62]**. Another document includes a detailed listing of an export cargo for a specific Bristol slaving voyage of the 1740s **[54]**.

When trading along the west African coasts, Bristol ship captains needed to observe certain African cultural practices that were necessary to facilitate exchanges

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94 The rivalry between the company and the private traders is an important theme running through Davies, *The Royal African Company* and William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013).

95 For a good explanation of African consumer preferences for goods exchanged for slaves, see Richardson, 'West African Consumption Patterns,' pp. 303-30.

96 Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 96-106; Morgan, 'The Economic Development of Bristol,' pp. 60-1.

of goods for slaves. Some West African regions included customs charges or port dues known as 'coomey,' which ship captains found were expensive **[102, 103, 191, 232]**.[97] Bristol's Society of Merchant Venturers has an impressive brass bell given as 'coomey' in 1770 by the slaving merchant Thomas Jones to his African trading partner 'Grandy' Robin John in Old Calabar.[98] Offering gifts, known as 'dashes,' to African rulers and tradesmen were also deployed in order to create a positive, welcoming atmosphere for commercial exchanges **[173]**. Such 'dashes' were demanded by the Africans, and thereby differed from gifts provided.[99] Particular voyages could involve the payment of both 'coomey' and 'dashes,' both of which were usually paid in kind **[232]**. Arrangements for the exchange of goods for slaves were sometimes settled at 'palavers,' which were extended meetings between ship captains and African rulers or chiefs that could last for several days **[192, 215, 224]**.

Trust was an important aspect of business practice in handling slave cargoes because there was always the risk that goods supplied to Africans would be taken into the interior to barter or buy slaves but that some traders might disappear and not deliver captives to ship captains for the goods they received. Captains sometimes circumvented this problem by taking 'pawns' as collateral for goods handed to Africans **[103, 115, 120, 124, 137, 172, 176, 184]**. Only some West African regions made use of pawnship – the Gold Coast, Upper Guinea, Gabon, Cameroon and Calabar and the interior of the Bights of Benin and Biafra. The way in which this operated was for pawns to be children or family members of the African traders who were held by the ship captains until those traders returned to the coast with slaves: only then were pawns released. African traders who failed to deliver slaves to captains could not redeem their pawns, and captains therefore retained those individuals and added them to their slave cargoes for sale in the Americas. The basis of this undertaking was that the Africans would not want to lose close family members.[100]

Several documents included information on the types of slaves to be purchased and preferences for gathering slaves from specific West African regions **[21, 128]**. One captain was instructed to sail to Angola and to find out whether the best slaves could be purchased, and the quickest despatch arranged, at Cape Benda, Malimba or Loango **[41]**. Another captain was advised that Angola or Gold Coast slaves were favoured in Virginia **[58]**. Colonial factors also made recommendations to Bristol ship captains about the size, age and sex of slave cargoes suitable for their market. In one case, a factor advised a captain to purchase Igbos from the Bight of Biafra or Windward Coast and Gold Coast slaves but to avoid buying Coromantees, also emanating from the Gold Coast, who were perceived as troublesome **[90]**. In fact, the Coromantees had a fearsome reputations for their rebelliousness and warlike disposition throughout the eighteenth century.[101] In another case, factors in Antigua

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97 For other examples of 'coomey,' see Stephen D. Behrendt and Eric J. Graham, 'African Merchants, Notables and the Slave Trade at Old Calabar, 1720: Evidence from the National Archives of Scotland,' *History in Africa*, 30 (2003), pp. 57-8.

98 Madge Dresser and Sue Giles, eds., *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery* (Bristol, 2000), pp. 37, 59.

99 Ty M. Reese, '"Eating Luxury": Fante Middlemen, British Goods, and Changing Dependencies on the Gold Coast, 1750-1821,' *WMQ*, 66, no. 4 (2009), p. 856 n. 2.

100 Among many discussions of pawnship are Randy J. Sparks, 'Gold Coast Merchant Families, Pawning, and the Eighteenth-Century English Slave Trade,' *WMQ*, 70, no. 2 (2013), pp. 317-40, and Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, 'The Business of Slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c.1600-1810,' *Journal of African History*, 42, no. 1 (2001), pp. 67-89.

101 Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Cambridge, MA, 2020), p. 89.

in 1740 requested slaves emanating from the Gold Coast or the Bight of Benin rather than from the Bight of Biafra **[27]**.

Bristol slaving vessels normally traded as single units in West Africa, but occasionally 'tenders' or support vessels supplied a mother ship with a small number of additional captives **[103, 109, 115, 232]**. The 'tenders' were usually smaller vessels that cruised along the West African coast, sometimes sailing in and out of rivers in search of trade.[102] Deploying ships trading in pairs was an attempt to gain market power over west African regions without forts or factories.[103] The evidence from the James Rogers Papers for the 1780s and 1790s suggests, however, that this liaison between ships did not work very well because delays in collecting slaves and taking time to load commodities on board ship on a piecemeal basis led to too much time being spent on the west African coast.[104]

Slave ships often stayed for considerable periods on the African coast, at least for several weeks in most cases or sometimes months, as captives were brought to the coast after being captured or purchased inland. It was common for slaves to be loaded gradually on to vessels. After Dolben's Act was passed in 1788 as the first parliamentary measure to regulate the number of slaves that could be legally carried in relation to a ship's tonnage, there was a requirement that captains should keep a log of the loading of slaves on a daily basis as an accurate record of the captives purchased. The logs were surrendered to authorities at the completion of a voyage and a number of them have survived for the 1790s in the Parliamentary Archives along with a return prepared by the London Customs authorities for the House of Lords on 28 July 1800.[105] Examples of these logs are included in the volume, with information on the daily loading rates of slaves on board ship, usually dividing the male slaves from the female captives. In the main, only a few slaves were loaded daily **[210, 217, 225, 226, 230, 239, 242, 244, 253, 276, 288, 292, 297].**

It was difficult for captains to determine the ages of slaves, but that was an important matter for purchasers in the New World wanted to know whether they were buying adults or children. In the absence of written documentation on slave ages, a measure was needed to distinguish between these groups. Before Dolben's Act (1788) there was no reliable computation used by slave ship captains. But thereafter, in line with the legislation, a height measurement of 4 feet 4 inches was stipulated as the dividing line between these groups. One document, relating to a voyage of the *Sally* in 1796, shows how such records were kept **[296]**.[106]

One document offers a lengthy account of how the Bristol slave trade operated on the West African coast in evidence presented to the Board of Trade in 1788 by James Arnold, a surgeon, as part of the initial raft of fact-gathering by parliamentary enquiries into the slave trade. Arnold provides details on methods of obtaining slaves, the manner of bringing them to ships and how they were examined, the manner of the

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102 Cf. B. K. Drake, 'The Liverpool-African Voyage c. 1790-1807: commercial problems' in Anstey and Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition*, pp. 145, 147.

103 Stephen D. Behrendt, 'The British Slave Trade, 1785-1807: volume, profitability, and mortality' (University of Wisconsin PhD thesis, 1993), p. 117.

104 Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' p. 200.

105 D. P. Lamb, 'Volume and Tonnage of the Liverpool Slave Trade 1772-1807,' in Anstey and Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition*, p. 107.

106 Dolben's Act is reprinted in Donnan, ed., *Documents*, vol. 2, pp. 582-9. The minimum size of slave considered saleable in the Caribbean was 4 feet tall: see Radburn, *Traders in Men*, pp. 66-8.

trade, and the treatment of slaves and seamen **[137]**. Though his account should not be regarded as explaining the totality of issues related to the acquisition of slaves in West Africa, it is nonetheless illuminating and wide-ranging. It is perhaps the fullest contemporary account of gathering captives for Bristol's transatlantic slave trade.

Arnold points to various ways in which captives were gathered: some were seized after being brought on board ship by white traders supposedly to accept hospitality; others had been gathered after falling into debt or being sold for adultery in Africa; several, including children, had wounds which suggested they had been forcefully captured. In many of these cases, Africans had ended up as captives through treachery. Slaves were also bought and brought from inland fairs on canoes, on which their arms were tied. But not all captives were accepted into the Middle Passage. Young children (those under four feet tall), disabled people or women past their childbearing years (identified by fallen breasts) were discarded as were Africans with defects in their eyes and teeth signifying poor health. Thus Arnold underscores the intrusive physical assessment of Africans that was an integral part of gathering slaves. He examines the connections between ship captains and coastal African traders, making reference to the use of pawns as pledges (as explained above) to secure trust for goods provided to pay for captives. Violence occurred when disputes arose between the captain and his crew and African traders. Arnold recounts anecdotes of a baby being killed in order that his or her mother could be brought on board ship as a suitable adult for sale in American markets; of a slave being flogged for refusing to eat; of a slave girl taken as a mistress by a captain but subject to physical abuse; and of slaves being forced to dance on a ship's deck by threatening them with a cat o'nine tails. Seamen on board ship received parsimonious provisions and had little shelter; they were regularly flogged by captains. **[137]**

Several letters reproduced in the volume provide details on the interaction between Bristol ship captains and the uncle and nephew James and William Cleveland, a prominent group of African traders in the Sierra Leone area in the late eighteenth century. The Clevelands, based in the Banana islands, had a fleet of vessels working along the Sierra Leone coast down to Cape Mesurado in the 1780s and 1790s.[107] James Cleveland (d. 1791) was 'an eminent capital Slave Trader' who exercised considerable power along the coast.[108] He had between 200 and 300 servants at his disposal to raid the properties of those slow to pay debts.[109] Bristol slave traders bartered for slaves with the Clevelands **[143, 173]**. These transactions were based on trust, for no law existed to bind them to their agreements **[166]**. Unfortunately, the death of James Cleveland in 1791 left outstanding debts to creditors from Bristol and elsewhere, and there was no legal recourse to their recovery.[110]

Perks for gathering slaves were commonly observed for captains. They were

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107 Joseph Corry, *Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa…in the years 1805 and 1806…* (London, 1807), pp. 8-9; Alexander Peter Kup, ed., *Adam Afzelius Sierra Leone Journal, 1795-1796* (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 78, 80.

108 Evidence of Zachary Macaulay in F. W. Torrington, ed., *House of Lords Sessional Papers* (Dobbs Ferry, NY, 1974), vol. 3, p. 350.

109 Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-1808' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, p. 38.

110 For difficulties experienced by another merchant trading with the Clevelands, see Denise Jones, 'Robert Bostock of Liverpool and the British Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1769-93,' ibid., pp. 73-80.

entitled to both coast commissions and to the selection of a few privilege slaves that could be sold on their behalf at the voyage's port of disembarkation in the Americas **[41, 45, 65, 67, 70, 78]**. Coast commissions commonly amounted to £4 on £104 arising from the gross sales of slaves in American markets **[55]**.[111] Merchants wanted to deliver healthy slaves to markets both for humane reasons and in order to sell them profitably. In order to achieve this goal, letters of instruction to slave ship captains dwelt upon the way in which slaves were to be treated on board ship **[74]**. One important aspect of this was to provision a ship with suitable food for slave consumption, something that needed careful attention because of the different dietary requirements of slaves from different African regions **[78]**. Some foodstuffs, such as beans, rice, stockfish, flour, bread and beef were loaded on board ship at the start of voyages whereas other items were purchased in West Africa, such as cassava, millet, maize, manioc, rice and yams.[112]

The voyage across the Atlantic, known as the Middle Passage, took anything between two and three months , depending on the distance between the ports of embarkation in Africa and disembarkation in the Americas.[113] The voyage was risky at the best of times, owing to the vagaries of sailing on the ocean exposed to winds and storms, the problems of mortality that beset crew and slaves, and the difficulties of controlling slaves on board ship through coercion. Additional hazards included periodic attacks on slave vessels by pirates **[1]**. Altercations between slaves and crew on board ship sometimes happened **[57]**. Slave insurrections occasionally occurred, usually on the African coast or within a matter of days of ships leaving the coast rather than during the transatlantic crossing or before disembarkation in the Americas.[114] Two documents in this volume provide vivid accounts of an uprising **[138, 151]** and there is also an account of a crew rebelling against their captain **[220]**. Another document itemises crew deaths on a voyage by referring to the location and cause of death **[8]**.

Most English slave ships left their home port with detailed written instructions given to a captain about where he was to dispose of slaves in transatlantic markets. But there was always a discretionary element in the commercial advice provided and some ships sailed between different Caribbean islands in search of the best markets. How extensively vessels adopted this practice has yet to be determined.[115] Some of the commercial letters included in this volume comprise written instructions to ship captains suggesting alternative markets for slave sales. For instance, a letter from 1767 gave the captain the option of delivering slaves to completely different markets – either Dominica or Virginia. The captain was instructed to sell slaves in Virginia unless 'a great offer' was made when the ship touched at Dominica. Letters were left

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111 For discussion of coast commissions in the Bristol slave trade, see Isaac Hobhouse, Noblet Ruddock and William Baker to Capt. William Barry, 7 Oct. 1725, in Donnan, ed., *Documents*, vol. 2, p. 328.

112 Angus Dalrymple-Smith, *Commercial Transitions and Abolition in West Africa 1630-1860* (Leiden, 2020), p. 37; David Eltis, 'The Slave Trade and Commercial Agriculture in an African Context' in Robin Law, Suzanne Schwarz and Silke Strickrodt, eds., *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 39, 42-3, 45.

113 Details of the voyage length from different African regions to North America, 1663-1860, and the Caribbean, 1701-75, are presented in David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT, 2010), maps 116 and 119, pp. 167, 172.

114 Ibid., map 132, showing the phases of slave voyages during which slaves rebelled, p. 190.

115 For an argument that forced migration between different Caribbean islands was a common practice in the British slave trade, see Radburn, *Traders in Men*, pp. 127, 138-44.

for him at Dominica naming factors who could handle slave sales **[58]**. An earlier voyage, involving the *Molly* in 1752, included instructions for the captain to touch at St Kitts for orders from Richard Meyler & Co. of Bristol to deliver slaves either to Maryland or Jamaica **[41]**. A subsequent letter of instruction for the same voyage added Virginia as an option for slave deliveries **[43]**.

At the end of their Middle Passage Bristol ships commonly called at harbours on eastern Caribbean islands to see if further orders had been lodged with factors about where they should deliver their African captives for sale. Examples in this volume include the lodging of letters at Tobago, Barbados and St Vincent **[74, 78, 100, 160]**. Such correspondence listed factors and contacts in different North American and West Indian ports, providing a cut-off date for a ship's arrival at a particular destination **[68]**. Some of these letters gave advice on the market price for selling slaves at different islands **[177]**. But such correspondence sometimes was unsure about the state of markets for the enslaved in islands such as Dominica or St Kitts **[60]**. In any case, captains were instructed only to sail from an American market they had reached to another destination if their slaves were in good condition [**64]**. Sailing among different islands in search of the best market for slave sales was potentially risky, however, because the physical and health condition of captives could deteriorate in the latter stages of a long oceangoing voyage: as one letter in this volume put it for a voyage that reached Kingston, 'the slaves were vastly worse for touching at the islands' **[18]**.

The conduct of slave sales was an important part of the cycle of a slave trading voyage. Bristol merchants sold slaves mainly in the Chesapeake and the Carolinas before the American War of Independence and throughout the eighteenth century to numerous Caribbean islands.[116] Letters in this edition include instructions advising captains of possible different markets for disposal of slave cargoes and the 'Guinea factors' recommended for the oversight of sales **[68, 246]**.[117] In the early eighteenth century, Bristol was also involved in the sale of slaves delivered to Jamaica and then reshipped to Spanish American ports by factors of the London-based South Sea Company. This was in compliance with the *asiento* agreement with Spain under which the Spanish outsourced the delivery of captives to their American possessions to English ships **[10, 12, 13, 15, 18]**.[118] More commonly, slave sales from Bristol ships were located in British colonial ports **[17, 33, 51]**.

Slave sale documents provided details on the day of the sale, the number and sex of slaves sold, the names of purchasers, the sale prices, commissions and charges. Two such documents are printed in this volume **[243, 249]**. Captains were usually instructed in advance by their Bristol merchant principals to entrust slave sales to a known factor in a particular port and to achieve a stated average price for the sales,

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116 The distribution of slave arrivals among British American colonies for selected periods, 1681-1804, is tabulated in David Richardson, 'The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1660-1807' in P. J. Marshall, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume 2. The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), p. 436.

117 For an illuminating study of one such person, see Nicholas Radburn, 'Guinea Factors, Slave Sales and the Profits of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: The Case of John Tailyour,' *WMQ*, 32, no. 2 (2015), pp. 243-86.

118 For an appraisal of the British slave trade to foreign colonies under the *asiento*, see Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2014), pp. 219-63.

based on the most recent commercial market information **[64, 68, 69, 70, 73, 111, 223]**. Bristol merchants lodged letters with the factors to whom they intended to sell a cargo of slaves ahead of their ship arriving at a particular port **[74]**. Sometimes an auction or 'vendue' was necessary to complete sales **[221]**. After the main sale was completed, 'refuse' slaves – those who were blind, ill, maimed or elderly – were sold off at low prices to complete the sale **[139, 144, 214]**.[119] Merchants sought an average price for slaves at sales and their correspondence included instructions to captains about the average price expected **[69, 112, 123, 155, 169, 177, 178, 180, 205, 223]**.

Bristol's slaving merchants observed various business practices to ensure they received prompt payments for slave sales. However, they had to engage with the seasonal cycle of staple production because sugar planters in the Caribbean paid for newly imported slaves on credit owing to the gap in time between when slaves were purchased and sugar was harvested and sold. Documents in this edition show that credit for purchasers was arranged through bills of exchange largely drawn at three-month intervals, and that the three-month tranches became longer in the period after the American Revolution **[66, 68, 72, 79, 86, 127, 148, 152, 157, 179, 269]**. Several sets of bills of exchange were assembled **[255]**. Consideration was given to the length of bills: merchants ideally wanted to restrict their time-length in order to receive payments but they had to be flexible to incorporate whatever the norms happened to be for 'Guinea factors' to pay **[154, 247]**. In most cases, it was expected that remittances in bills would be sent on the return voyage of the ships that had delivered slaves to market, hut some Bristol merchants, in the first half of the eighteenth century, allowed for six-eighths of the remittance to be returned on the voyage in bills and the rest in produce **[2, 18, 27, 48]**.

In order to secure payments from bills for slave sales, merchants designed a system of 'guarantees.'[120] A 'guarantee' was a wealthy merchant or businessman, usually based in a British port, who was contacted before a slaving voyage to enquire whether he would guarantee or honour the accepted bills when they were produced. One document in this volume, dated 1734, is the first known explanation of this technique at Bristol or any other port. In this case, the emphasis lay on the security for slave sales being established by a merchant at Bristol or elsewhere ahead of a slaving voyage **[23]**. Correspondence in this volume contains several references to guarantees, who specified which destinations they could cover in terms of their business experience and connections with particular factors **[82, 128, 241, 267, 270, 287]**.

Bristol had a local abolitionist group established in 1788, the year when evidence was first supplied to a parliamentary committee on the conduct and organisation of the slave trade, including information gathered in Bristol, through the visits of the abolitionist sympathiser Thomas Clarkson to the city's harbour areas and the statements provided by Bristol ship captains and seamen in parliamentary hearings. Over the next twenty years abolitionists and anti-abolitionists made a number

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119 For more on 'refuse' slaves, see Radburn, *Traders in Men*, pp. 123-4, 178-9.

120 For a detailed case study of 'guarantees' involving Bristol, see Kenneth Morgan, 'Merchant networks, the guarantee system, and the British slave trade to Jamaica in the 1790s,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 37, no. 2 (2016), pp. 334-52. The complexity of slave sale payments is discussed in Kenneth Morgan, 'Remittance Procedures in the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade', *Business History Review*, 79, no. 4 (2005), pp. 715-49.

of contributions to the debate over the slave trade at Bristol.[121] Relatively few manuscripts survive on the pro- and anti-slave trade stances taken in Bristol, but two are included in this volume. The first is a letter from the Bristol merchant Lowbridge Bright, dated 25 April 1789, which refers to petitions presented to Parliament by the city's African merchants and West India merchants and planters who were opposed to the abolition of the slave trade **[140]**. The second is by the Bristol West India merchant and MP Evan Baillie, who in 1804 underscored the commotion caused on both sides of the argument in Bristol. Baillie thought interference in the slave trade would be 'a fatal stab to West India credit' and could possibly lead to slave emancipation **[300]**. Baillie was right to be worried about the imminent end of the British slave trade, for Parliament duly abolished the 'Guinea traffic' in May 1807, by which time Bristol's involvement in the trade had withered away.[122]

Editorial conventions

The transcriptions of documents largely follows the format and style of the original material except that a few modifications have been made to render eighteenth-century usage accessible to modern readers. Spelling and ampersands are retained as given, but capitalisation is modernised, abbreviations extended, and superscripts brought down to the line. The runic thorn is converted to 'the.' The contractions '&c,' 'Messrs.,' 'vizt.,' 'tho',' and 'Co.' are retained because their usage should be intelligible to a modern reader. The following abbreviations, however, are expanded: 'p' becomes 'per,' 'abt' becomes 'about,' 'wch' becomes 'which' and 'yt' becomes 'that.'

The syntax of the documents is left uncorrected even where grammatical errors occur. This means, inevitably, that some documents require careful reading for the sense of sentences to be understood: eighteenth-century correspondence could be quite slack in formal grammar. Punctuation follows the documentary source except where it needs to be supplied to maintain the sense of a passage, as, for example, where full-stops are omitted in the manuscripts. Yet additional punctuation marks have been used sparingly. Apostrophes are not inserted where they are omitted in the manuscripts. Thus 'youll' is kept rather than 'you'll.' Indecipherable words or phrases are rendered as [?]. Some of the original documents are damaged in places. [----------] is supplied where one or more words are missing. In the latter case, a footnote is added if more than a few words are omitted. Occasional interpolations are inserted in square brackets to enable certain phrases or sentences to make sense.

Ship's names and foreign terms are italicised. Monetary figures are cited as in the manuscripts. Thus three pounds and nine shillings might be written £3 9s. or £3/9. Weights and measures are given standard abbreviations: cwt. (for hundredweight), qr. (quarter), lb. (pound), oz. (ounce), hhd. (hogshead), bl. (barrel). Paragraphing is inserted in long letters to aid readability. The date and place of origin of documents is presented in a standard format at the head of each numbered transcript and the location of the original document clearly identified. Introductions to letters and salutations are omitted. Dates are standardised according to the following format: 1

121 The main arguments made on either side are discussed in Marshall, *The Anti-Slave Trade Movement in Bristol* and Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 129-94.

122 Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 133.

January 1741. All dates are given according to the New Style calendar. 'St. Kitts' and 'St Christopher' are both used in the manuscripts for the small Leeward island, but 'St. Kitts' is used consistently in the heading of documents. Cross references in the footnotes are to document numbers rather than page numbers.

Footnotes identify people on the first occasion a person is mentioned. No footnotes are provided for individuals where, after intensive searching, no additional details can be found. Details of ships' voyages are only footnoted for slave ships: to have provided such information for all ships referred to in the manuscripts would have led to a serious wag of the dog's tail. Obscure passages in texts are explained in the footnotes where this is deemed necessary. Usually this occurs where a passage would appear indecipherable to an educated reader. Some passages receiving this elucidation deal with the finer points of eighteenth-century financial and business procedures.

After checking the proofs an additional citation was found for John Campbell Esquire & Co. of Glasgow on p. 251. This was a substantial merchant firm specialising in trade with the Caribbean, especially with Grenada and British Guiana. Its history has been explored in depth in Stephen Mullen, 'The great Glasgow West India house of John Campbell, Senior & Co.' in T. M. Devine, ed., *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (Edinburgh, 2015), pp. 124-45.

Documents

[1] The National Archives, Kew, CO 5/1319, Affidavit of Captain Thomas Kennedy of the *Calabar Merchant*[123] relating to the ship's being plundered by pirates certified by the Mayor of Bristol, 14 November 1720

I Henry Watts Esquire[124] now mayor of the city of Bristol do hereby certify that upon this present day of fourteenth November in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and twenty Thomas Kennedy of the said city mariner came personally before me and made voluntary oath on the Holy Evangelist of God that he the said deponent and master of the ship *Calabar Merchant* of and belonging to the port of Bristol aforesaid in her last voyage bound from thence to the coast of Africa and fitted out by the owners thereof from Bristol aforesaid with a very considerable cargoe on board her said that on the eleventh day of December which was in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and nineteen as the said ship was on the said coast near Old Calabar four sail of pirate vessels consisting of three ships and one brigantine commanded by one Edward England[125] came up with the said deponent's said ship with black flags and death's heads at their topmast heads and firing at the said ship soon after entered on board her by force of arms and beat and abused the said deponent and his men, and plundered, destroyed and took away great part of his said ship's cargo and most of his provisions and stores of all sorts to the value of several hundred pounds and that the said pirates left the said deponent with his said ship and her crew as prisoners for above nine hours time and that after several threats of burning his said ship they gave him liberty to proceed on his voyage and at their parting with him gave the said deponent twenty one Negroes as a satisfaction for the damage they had done him as aforesaid, which said Negroes the deponent victualled and took care of during his passage to Virginia and at his arrival there informed Alexander Spotswood esquire[126] governor of the said colony of his the said deponent having such Negroes on board his said ship upon which the said governour seized the said Negroes for his own use and the said deponent further made oath that he verily believed that the damage sustained by the owners of the said ship to Callabar and her cargo from the said pirates amounted to the sum of twelve hundred pounds sterling at

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123 This voyage is not documented in www.slavevoyages.org but a previous voyage which left Bristol in 1718 (voyage ID 16211) is listed there. Details of the capture of this ship by pirates are also included in a letter by Alexander Spotswood, lieutenant governor of Virginia, to Mr Secretary Craggs on behalf of Capt. Kennedy, commander of the ship *Calabar Merchant* of Bristol which had been plundered by pirates and brought some slaves to Virginia where they were seized, 20 May 1720: see R. A. Brock, ed., *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1720, in the Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, 2 vols. (Richmond, VA, 1885), vol. 2, p. 343. The capture of this ship is also noted in several documents included in Donnan, ed., *Documents*, vol. 4, pp. 95-9.

124 Mayor of Bristol in 1720 (d. 19 Sept. 1721). Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, p. 226.

125 A prominent Irish pirate captain (b. 1685 d. 1720/1). He and his crew took nine ships off the coast of Africa in the spring of 1719. Marcus Rediker, *Villains of all Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston, 2004), p. 47.

126 He served as lieutenant governor of Virginia between 1710 and 1722. Gwenda Morgan, 'Spotswood [Spottiswood], Alexander (1676-1740' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 51, pp. 963-4.

the coast by a moderate computation besides the loss and abuse received from them by the said deponent all which I certify upon request under my hand and seal of office of mayoralty of the said city the day and year first above written.

[2] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 15/34, Richard Lougher,[127] Walter Lougher,[128] Isaac Hobhouse,[129] William Challoner,[130] William Clymer,[131] Bristol, to Crump & Hasell,[132] Barbados, 10 October 1722

We hope soon after you receive this that our ship *America*[133] Thomas Marshall master will be arrived with you at Barbados with a full laden of choice healthy slaves. We have ordered him to value himself on you provided you come to our limitts. We expect the cargo will be Gold Coast and Bite[134] slaves. As for the Gold coast men and women per lot we will have £54 to 60/ per person and the boys and girls in proportion and the Bite slaves men and women £44 per person. And the boys and girls in proportion and you to pay the master & men's wages and ship's port charges and to remit us six eighths of the nett proceeds per return of our ship, that is to say in good bills of exchange endorst by your selves 1/8 in good scraped ginger & put in our butts and the other 3/8 must be in Barbados sugars.[135] Let there be as many hogsheads of coarse sugar as will be flore & wing[136] our ship & the remainder in the best muscovado & clayed sugar.[137] Pray let the sugars be the best your island produces in its kind, and as for the other 2/8 you must send us the next year in such goods as we shall order.

The above order is for the whole quantity of our slaves provided our ship should arrive with you before 10th February next but if she should arrive after, we have

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127 Master SMV 1738, d. 5 Oct. 1749. Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, p. 127.

128 Master SMV 1744, d. 2 July 1762. Ibid.

129 Born Minehead 1685, d. 20 Feb. 1763. Member SMV 1724. Partner in Joseph Percivall Copper Co. He managed 44 slaving voyages between 1722 and 1747. Henry Hobhouse, *Hobhouse Memoirs* (Taunton, 1927), pp. 19-22; Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, pp. 29-30.

130 Involved in the St Peter's sugar refinery. I. V. Hall, 'Bristol's second sugar house,' *TBGAS*, LXVIII (1949), pp. 110-65; Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol,' p. 146.

131 He was also part-owner of a vessel in the Bristol-South Carolina trade. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 18.

132 Crump & Hasell, a non-Jewish merchant-factor firm, handled 472 slaves at Barbados between 1713 and 1726 and 380 slaves between 1728 and 1739. Faber, *Jews, Slaves and the Slave Trade*, p. 96.

133 The *America*, Thomas Marshall master, Richard Lougher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 8 Aug. 1722, purchased slaves in Africa, sold 143 or 146 in Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 2 Oct. 1723. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 100. Further details are added under voyage ID 16309 in www.slavevoyages.org: the voyage embarked 176 imputed slaves at the Gold Coast, especially Anomabu, and Sierra Leone. The owners were Richard Lougher, William Challoner, William Baker, Isaac Hobhouse, Richard Ashton, Walter Lougher, William Clymer and Peter Caster.

134 i.e. Bight of Biafra.

135 The sentence indicates that 2/8ths of the 6/8ths remittance of the net proceeds by return of the ship is by bills of exchange, 1/8th in ginger and 3/8ths in sugar.

136 The meaning of this phrase is unclear.

137 Muscovado sugar was a coarse brown substance which resulted from the initial boiling and processing carried out in the Caribbean. Clayed sugar was a white variety, often superior in quality to muscovado. Barbados concentrated more on the production of clayed sugar than any other British West Indian island. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 205-6; John James McCusker, Jr, 'The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1650-1775,' 3 vols. (University of Pittsburgh PhD, 1970), vol. 1, p. 201.

ordered Captain Hester to leave but 40 of his Gold Coast slaves by lott & proceed directly for South Carolina, but if you take to the 40 it must be on the above terms & be committed per first good ship bound for Bristol adviseing us thereof. You are not to draw your commission for sales till the master has taken his commission first which is 4 out of every 104.[138] We wish you health & happiness and salute you very sincerely.

P. S. Since the above we have considered so as not to have any coarse muscovados but such only is fine & fit for loaf & candy for the shopp.[139]

[3] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 15/34, Richard Assheton, Walter & Richard Lougher, Isaac Hobhouse, William Baker,[140] William Clymer and William Chaloner, Bristol, to Captain Peter Hester, 17 October 1722

We hope this may find you safely arrived at Mountserrat with a good cargo of Negroes where you must apply to Mr Nathaniel Webb[141] for their disposal upon the following conditions vizt. three fourths by lot not to be sold under twenty four pounds per head and the payment to be in the best French cotton[142] not exceeding nine pence half penny per pound except so much of it in cash that will be necessary for your disbursements and if that quantity of cotton cannot be attained we are willing one third of that sale may be then paid in the best French sugars at so reasonable a price as may be. The other fourth of your Negroes is to be sold for not less than thirty two pounds per head round and the payment to be made in good sugars of the island not exceeding fifteen shillings per hundred as much of which as possible you are to stow in the hold and as much of the French cotton that will compleatly fill your ship between decks. You must likewise be dispatched in six weeks the amount to be balanced in four months. After that the said Webb to make good all bad debts to be allowed ten per cent for his commission and no more in storage that he himself in reality pays a bond[143] for which end you have here inclosd that must be attested by two or three of good repute of Bristoll and as many more inhabitants of the island though be very carefull that those witnesses as well as others be not appriz'd of its contents which might prove of ill consequence never communicating to any the transactions of your voyage. At your departure be pressing that whatever the effects be in the hands of Mr Webb may

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138 This was the standard commission on slave sales allowed for captains in the eighteenth-century British slave trade. Isaac Hobhouse, Noblet Ruddock and William Baker to Capt. William Barry, 7 Oct. 1725, in Donnan, ed., *Documents*, vol. 2, p. 328; C. M. MacInnes, *England and Slavery* (Bristol, 1934), pp. 46-9.

139 Sugar loaves were kept in pots to cure and harden as part of the refining process. The finished white loaves were bought over grocers' counters. Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol,' p. 143.

140 Co-owner of a vessel in the Bristol-South Carolina trade. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 18.

141 He was born in Taunton, but had moved to Montserrat by 1720 where he was a merchant and owner of a small sugar plantation. He appears to have relocated to Bristol by 1724, where he was involved in the sugar trade. He then returned to Montserrat where he imported 1,268 slaves in the 1720s. He was appointed to the Governor's Council in Montserrat in 1729 and continued in that office until he left for England in 1736. He died near Taunton in February 1741. Ibid., p. 143; Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Baltimore, 1974), p. 178; Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, p. 103.

142 This was presumably imported into Montserrat from one of the French islands in the eastern Caribbean, the nearest being Guadeloupe.

143 These were paper instruments intended to provide legal protection against debts, but often they were unpaid for many years. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, pp. 102-3.

be shipt on any good ship or shipps then taking freight for Bristol.

We would have all the mens wages paid except John Colbois (your cooper) who is at this time an apprentice and at this time discharge all such that are not actually necessary to freight home your ship but be sure to keep two months pay at least of their wages in your hands till you are ready to sail least they should give you the slip and be forced to pay extravagantly for the run.[144] We would have all the butts sold if they'll fetch twenty shillings each otherwise make 'em up in bundles so as to hinder little stowage. We doubt not but you will be diligent in all our affairs without which the best voyage must certainly be overthrown. After finishing so far make the best of your way to Bristol in your passage avoiding to speak with any keeping a good lookout and to see that your people are not lavish of the stores and necessary that the next outset be not so extravagant as this which amounts to near seven hundred pounds.

If Mr Nathaniel Webb cannot comply with these our orders then immediately sail with the utmost expedition to Jamaica and there apply to Mr John Lewis who has our directions to dispose of the whole cargo of negroes for the most will yield and the returns to be by the ship vizt twenty hogsheads sugar from 14/ to 17 per hundred & so much more that will fill your ship in hold of the very best and finest of muscovados and likewise as much cotton between decks that your shipp may be completely laden, and if he can balance the account before your departure he has orders to remit in good foreign indigo to be done with safety & to be purchased at 3/9 per pound or under. You must there pay & discharge such of people as before hinted & dispose of your butts if they'll yield 28/ each notwithstanding if he obtains the indigo at our price and you have not room enough then sell them for the most will yield. Be sure to enter your mate as master whatever place you set down at in default of which the penalty is very large.

We have nothing further to recommend to you but a repetition of how great concern your care will be in the stowing your cargo to prevent any damage, to well husband the ship, to be sparing in your expenses always using the greater diligence & dexterity to procure a quick despatch for the sake of future encouragement, giving the gentlemen to understand that the concern shall largely [be] in that trade. After so farr completed make the best of your way to Bristol heartily wishing you a prosperous return to your friends & partners.

P. S. We forgot to mention in the above the absolute necessity there is that you see every cask sugar on board the ship weighed likewise every bagg of cotton otherwise you may depend we shall be imposed on in the tares[145] as well as the weights of which please to take particular care.

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144 It was a common practice for slave ships to reduce the crew after they had sold slaves before the final leg of their voyage home: fewer crew were required after the need for restraint of captives had ended.

145 i.e. the weights of the containers.

[4] The National Archives, Kew, CO 388/25, A List of ships belonging to the city of Bristol now on the African trade, 1725[146]

Ships' names	Masters' names	Negroes
Illustrious[147]	Morphey	250
Susannah[148]	Edwards	300
Betty Gally[149]	Stretton	400
Betty Brigantine[150]	Lilburn	200
Success[151]	Hall	300
America[152]	Marshall	180
Little Joseph[153]	Barry	180

146 Some of these ships appear on a similar list for 1724 located in British Library, Add. MS 22,676, Miscellaneous Papers relating to the Island of Jamaica 1662-1765 presented by C. E. Long Esquire, fols. 41-2.

147 The *Illustrious Gally*, John Murphy master, William Challoner & Co., owners, left Bristol on 15 Oct. 1724, intended to load 250 slaves at Banda, disembarked 29 slaves at Barbados and 172 at Rappahannock River, Virginia, and arrived back at Bristol on 2 Nov. 1725. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 120. See also Voyage ID 16369 in www.slavevoyages.org.

148 The *Susanna*, Thomas Wilks master, William Jefferis & Co. owners, left Bristol on 18 July 1724, delivered slaves to Nevis, and arrived back at Bristol on 9 June 1725. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 126. Another source adds that 104 imputed slaves were loaded in Africa and 83 imputed slaves disembarked at St Kitts. The owners were William and Joseph Jefferis, Edmund Saunders, William and John Reeve, Isaac Hobhouse, Noblet Ruddock and Thomas Wilks. Voyage ID 16385 in www.slavevoyages.org.

149 The *Betty Gally*, Thomas Edwards master, James Day & Co. owners, left Bristol on 3 Dec. 1724, intended to deliver 400 slaves to Jamaica, and arrived back at Bristol on 11 Jan. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 116. Another source has different details: 237 imputed slaves embarked in Africa and 190 imputed slaves disembarked in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16358 in www.slavevoyages.org.

150 The *Betty Brigantine*, George Lilburne master, Phillip Harris & Co. owners, left Bristol on 13 Nov. 1724, intended to load 200 slaves for Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 Apr. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 116. Another source adds that the owners were Robert and John Addison, that 107 imputed slaves were loaded in Africa and 89 slaves landed in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16357 in www.slavevoyages.org.

151 The *Success*, John Hall master, Nathaniel Wraxall & Co. owners, left Bristol on 11 Dec. 1724. Richardson, ed., *Bristol vol. 1*, p. 125. Another source has additional details: 237 imputed slaves were loaded in Africa and 190 imputed slaves disembarked at an unknown destination. Voyage ID 16384. www.slavevoyages.org.

152 The *America*, Thomas Marshall master, Richard Lougher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 5 Dec. 1724, delivered 199 slaves to Nevis and returned to Bristol on 7 Sept. 1725. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 115. Another source lists the following owners: Richard Lougher, William Challoner, William Baker, Walter Lougher, William Clymer, Isaac Hobhouse, Peter Caster and Richard Ashton. The same source notes that 224 imputed slaves embarked in Africa. Voyage ID 16353 in www.slavevoyages.org.

153 The *Little Joseph*, Thomas Barry master, John Teague & Co. owners, left Bristol on 22 Dec. 1724 and returned to Bristol on 16 May 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 121. Another source adds that 237 imputed slaves embarked in Africa and 190 imputed slaves disembarked in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16373. www.slavevoyages.org.

Angola[154]	Vaunce	300
Lenox[155]	Vaunce	280
Shirley[156]	Kennedy	300
Greyhound[157]	Halden	340
Little Stephen[158]	Haskins	180
Thomas and Philip[159]	Goodall	240
Nightingale[160]	Crichton	170
Houlton Brigantine[161]	Powell	250
Cornwall Gally[162]	Rowles	420

154 The *Angola*, Joseph Jeans/Nicholas Worsdale master, William Jefferis & Co. owners, left Bristol on 4 Feb. 1725 and returned to Bristol on 1 July 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 129. Another source states that 237 imputed slaves were embarked in Africa and 190 disembarked in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16394 in www.slavevoyages.org.

155 The *Lenox Gally*, James Vance master, William Matthew & Co. owners, left Bristol on 5 Feb. 1725, intended to delivered 280 slaves to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 4 May 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 137. Another source adds that 237 imputed slaves were loaded in Africa and 190 imputed slaves delivered to Jamaica. Voyage ID 16419. www.slavevoyages.org.

156 The *Shirley,* William Kennedy master, John & Charles Scandrett & Co. owners, left Bristol on 18 Feb. 1725, delivered 233 or 235 slaves to Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 27 June 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 142. This ship is not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

157 The *Greyhound Gally*, Edward Halden master, William Challoner & Co. owners, left Bristol on 9 Mar. 1725, intended to deliver 340 slaves to South Carolina, and returned to Bristol on 1 Feb. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 134. Another source adds that 237 imputed slaves were loaded in Africa and 190 imputed slaves disembarked at Charleston. Voyage ID 16410 in www.slavevoyages.org.

158 The *Little Stephen*, William Haskins master, Nathaniel Wraxall owner, left Bristol on 6 Mar. 1725, delivered 139 slaves to Barbados and returned to Bristol on 18 Mar. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 137. See also Voyage ID 16420 in www.slavevoyages.org

159 The *Thomas and Philip*, James Goodall/Joseph Evans masters, Noblet Ruddock & Co. owners, left Bristol on 11 Mar. 1725, intended to embark 240 slaves in Africa, delivered 13 to Barbados and the others to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 May 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 143. Another source states that 190 imputed slaves disembarked mainly in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16437 in www.slavevoyages.org.

160 The *Nightingale*, James Crichton master, James Day & Co. owners, left Bristol on 15 Apr. 1725, intended to embark 170 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 7 Feb. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 139. Another source states that 178 imputed slaves disembarked in Jamaica. Voyage ID www.slavevoyages.org.

161 The *Houlton Brigantine*, Rice Powel master, Abraham Hooke owner, left Bristol on 4 May 1725, intended to load 250 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 Aug. 1727. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 135. Another source states that the ship delivered 131 imputed slaves to Jamaica. Voyage ID 16413. www.slavevoyages.org.

162 The *Cornwall Gally*, Charles Rowles master, Noblet Ruddock & Co. owners, left Bristol on 3 May 1725, intended to load 420 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Barbados and Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 13 May 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 132. Another source states that the ship took 237 imputed slaves from Africa and delivered 190 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16403 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Rich Gally[163]	Hurne	340
Fame snow[164]	Roberts	200
Loyal George[165]	Tucker	270
John & Betty[166]	Davis	250
Mary Gally[167]	Maddox	330
Elizabeth[168]	Green	180
Virgin Gally[169]	Beckford	300
Berkly Gally[170]	Hale	350
Betty[171]	Bradshaw	280

163 The *Rich Gally*, Thomas Hurrue master, Noblet Ruddock & Co. owners, left Bristol on 12 May 1725, intended to load 340 slaves in Africa, and delivered them to an unknown destination. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 140. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16430 in www.slavevoyages.org.

164 The *Fame Snow*, John Roberts master, Richard Henvill & Co. owners, left Bristol on 5 May 1725, intended to load 200 slaves in Africa, delivered 134 slaves to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 22 Dec. 1725. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 133. Another source states that the vessel embarked 167 imputed slaves in Africa. Voyage ID 16408 in www.slavevoyages.org.

165 The *Loyal George*, Timothy Tucker master, Joseph Swayne & Co. master, left Bristol on 14 May 1725, intended to load 270 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and arrived back at Bristol on 16 Apr. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 137. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 217 slaves to Jamaica. Voyage ID 16461. www.slavevoyages.org.

166 The *John and Betty*, Timothy Davis master, John Teague & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 May 1725, intended to load 250 slaves in Africa, and returned to Bristol on 18 July 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 136. Another source states that the ship embarked 237 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 190 imputed slaves to Jamaica. Voyage ID 16417 in www.slavevoyages.org.

167 The *Mary Gally*, John Maddox master, Phillip Harris & Co. owners, left Bristol on 20 May 1725, intended to load 330 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica and returned to Bristol on 21 May 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 138. Another source states that the ship embarked 237 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 190 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16423 in www.slavevoyages.org.

168 The *Elizabeth Snow*, John Green master, Thomas Dolman & Co. owners, left Bristol on 19 June 1725, intended to load 180 slaves in Africa, and delivered 150 slaves to Antigua. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 133. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

169 The *Virgin Gally*, Posthumous Beckford master, Edmund Saunders & Co., owners, left Bristol on 16 June 1725, intended to load 300 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 12 Oct. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 143. Another source states that the ship embarked 237 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 190 imputed slaves in Virginia. Voyage ID 16439 in www.slavevoyages.org.

170 The *Berkly Gally*, John Hale master, John Duckinfield & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 June 1725, intended to load 350 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 19 Apr. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 129. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

171 The *Betty Brigantine*, John Bradshaw master, Robert Addison & Co. owners, left Bristol on 20 July 1725, intended to load 280 slaves at Calabar, delivered 144 to York River, Virginia, and arrived back at Bristol on 12 Aug. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 130. Another source states that 190 imputed slaves were embarked at Calabar. Voyage ID 16397 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Lark[172]	Parker	200
Happy Snow[173]	Ruddock	200
Susannah Brigantine[174]	Wilks	180
Dursely Gally[175]	Harris	380
Norman Gally[176]	Bartlett	300
Pearl Gally[177]	Hughes	300
Cape Benda[178]	Turner	280
Indian Queen[179]	Williams	350
Speedwell[180]	Clement	260

172 The *Lark*, Henry Parker master, James Day & Co. owners, left Bristol on 14 July 1725, intended to load 200 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 26 Apr. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 136. Another source states that the ship embarked 237 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 190 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16418 in www.slavevoyages.org.

173 The *Happy Snow*, John Ruddock master, Noblet Ruddock & Co. owners, left Bristol on 16 July 1725, intended to load 200 slaves in Africa, delivered 154 to Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 20 June 1726. Richardson, ed. *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 134. Another source states that 192 imputed slaves embarked in Africa. Voyage ID 16411 in www.slavevoyages.org.

174 The *Susannah Brigantine*, Thomas Wilks and Thomas Parker masters, William Jefferis & Co. owners, left Bristol on 16 July 1725, intended to load 180 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 July 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 142. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

175 The *Dursley Gally*, Rice Harris master, James Day & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 July 1725, intended to load 380 slaves in Africa. The ship was wrecked at Morant Keys, Jamaica, on 26 Apr. 1726 with 40 slaves on board. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 133. Another source states that the ship embarked 237 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 190 imputed slaves to Jamaica. Voyage ID 16365 in www.slavevoyages.org.

176 The *Norman Gally*, John Bartlett master, Thomas Freke & Co. owners, left Bristol on 24 July 1725, purchased slaves at Calabar, delivered 120 slaves to York River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 6 Aug. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 139. Another source states that this ship loaded 313 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 251 imputed slaves to Barbados. Voyage ID 16377 in www.slavevoyages.org.

177 The *Pearle Gally*, Jenkin Hughes master, Joseph Jefferis & Co., owners, left Bristol on 30 July 1725, intended to deliver 300 slaves to Barbados and Carolina, and returned to Bristol on 7 July 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 140. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa, landed 4 imputed slaves at Barbados and 213 imputed slaves at Charleston. Voyage ID 16428. www.slavevoyages.org.

178 The *Cape Benda*, William Turner and Japhet Bird masters, Samuel Merrick & Co., owners, left Bristol on 30 July 1725, intended to purchase 280 slaves at Angola, delivered 269 slaves to Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 13 July 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 130. Another source states that 296 imputed slaves were loaded in West Central Africa. Voyage ID 16398 in www.slavevoyages.org.

179 The *Indian Queen*, William Williams master, Walter and Richard Lougher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 18 Aug. 1725, intended to purchase 350 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Carolina and returned to Bristol on 16 Aug. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 135. Another source states that 237 imputed slaves were loaded in Africa and 190 imputed slaves delivered to Charleston. Voyage ID 16414. www.slavevoyages.org.

180 The *Speedwell*, Henry Clement and and John Owen masters, Thomas Chamberlayne & Co. owners, left Bristol on 19 Aug. 1725, purchased slaves at Calabar, intended to deliver 260 captives to York River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 22 Dec. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 142. Another source states that 229 imputed slaves were loaded at Calabar and 196 delivered to York River, Virginia. Voyage ID 16435 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Triton Snow[181]	Baily	200
Jason Gally[182]	Manship	450
Isaac[183]	Webb	240
Chester Gally[184]	Webley	240
Robert[185]	Arding	240
Mediterranean[186]	Dolman	350
Abington[187]	Smith	360
Dispatch Brigantine[188]	Barry	250
Freke Gally[189]	Teat	450

181 The *Tryton Snow*, John Bayly master, Phillip Harris & Co. owners, left Bristol on 25 Aug. 1725, intended to purchase 200 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 19 Dec. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 143. Another source states that the ship embarked 237 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 190 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16438. www.slavevoyages.org.

182 The *Jason Gally*, Edward Manship master, John Becher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 31 Aug. 1725, intended to purchase 450 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 30 Sept. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 136. Another source states that the ship embarked 300 imputed slaves at Calabar and disembarked 228 imputed slaves at Rappahannock River, Virginia. Voyage ID 16416. www.slavevoyages.org.

183 The *Isaac*, Samuel Webb master, Nathaniel Webb & Co. owners, left Bristol on 12 Aug. 1725, intended to load 240 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 6 Oct. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 136. Another source states that this ship was called the *Little Isaac*, that it embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16415. www.slavevoyages.org.

184 The *Chester Gally*, Henry Webley and Richard Bacon masters, John Baker, jr & Co. owners, left Bristol on 3 Aug. 1725, intended to load 240 slaves at Calabar, delivered 144 slaves to York River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 3 Aug. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 131. Another source states that the ship embarked 170 imputed slaves at Calabar. Voyage ID 16400 in www.slavevoyages.org.

185 The *Robert*, Richard Arding and John Arding masters, Richard Arding & Co. owners, left Bristol on 19 Aug. 1725, intended to load 240 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 16 Sept. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 141. Another source states that the ship embarked 240 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 192 imputed slaves to Barbados. Voyage ID 16381 in www.slavevoyages.org.

186 The *Mediterranean Gally*, Thomas Dolman master, William Challoner & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 Aug. 1725, intended to load 350 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Maryland, and returned to Bristol on 26 Oct. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 138. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

187 The *Abbington*, John Smith master, John Duckinfield & Co. owners, left Bristol on 25 Sept. 1725. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 128. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

188 The *Dispatch*, William Barry master, Isaac Hobhouse & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 Oct. 1725, intended to load 200 or 240 slaves at Old Calabar, delivered 180 captives to Rappanannock River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 10 Aug. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 132. Another source states that the ship embarked 228 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 3 imputed slaves at Barbados and 170 imputed slaves at York River, Virginia. Voyage ID 16364 in www.slavevoyages.org.

189 The *Freke Gally*, John Teat/Tate master, Joseph Whitchurch & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 Sept. 1725, intended to load 450 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 22 Feb. 1727. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 134. Another source states that the vessel embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 217 imputed slaves to Kingston, Jamaica. Voyage ID 16409 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Malmsbury[190]	Davis	230
Commerce[191]	James	240
Samuel[192]	Miller	280
Peniel Gally[193]	Skinner	300
Colston[194]	Row	200
Oldbury[195]	Beard	300
Ann Brigantine[196]	Thomas	220
Cowslip[197]	Perry	180
Sampson	Fraser	220
Hector[198]	Phips	350

190 The *Malmsbury*, Thomas Davis master, William Hunt & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 Oct. 1725, intended to load 250 slaves at Calabar, delivered 20 slaves to Nevis and 135 to York River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 15 Nov. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 138. Another source states that 181 imputed slaves were embarked at Calabar. Voyage ID 16422 in www.slavevoyages.org.

191 The *Commerce*, Henry James and Robert Elston masters, Samuel Jacob & Co. owners, left Bristol on 20 Sept. 1725, intended to load 240 slaves at Calabar, delivered 143 captives to York River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 7 Sept. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 131. Another source states that the ship embarked 167 imputed captives at Calabar. Voyage ID 16402 in www.slavevoyages.org.

192 The *Samuel*, Thomas Miller master, Michael Callahan & Co. owners, left Bristol on 23 Oct. 1725 and intended to load 280 slaves in Africa. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 141. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16432 in www.slavevoyages.org.

193 The *Peniel*, Thomas Skinner and John Palmer masters, John Becher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 Oct. 1725, intended to load 300 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 17 Sept. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 140. Another source states that 271 imputed captives were loaded in Africa and 217 imputed slaves delivered to Jamaica. Voyage ID 16429 in www.slavevoyages.org.

194 The *Colstone*, Thomas Rowe master, Edmund Saunders & Co. owners, left Bristol on 10 Nov. 1725, intended to load 200 slaves in Africa, delivered them to Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 17 Aug. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 131. Another source states that the ship embarked 331 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 3 imputed slaves at Barbados and a further 280 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16401 in www.slavevoyages.org.

195 The *Oldbury*, James Beard master, Richard Henvill & Co. owners, left Bristol on 4 Dec. 1725, intended to load 300 slaves in Africa, delivered 152 to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 26 Nov. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 139. Another source states that 171 imputed slaves embarked at Gambia and 152 imputed slaves were delivered to St. Kitts. Voyage ID 16427 in www.slavevoyages.org.

196 The *Anne Brigantine*, Abell Thomas master, Noblet Ruddock & Co. owners, left Bristol on 26 Oct. 1725, intended to load 220 imputed slaves in Africa, delivered 156 to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 13 Oct. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 129. Another source states that the ship loaded 176 imputed slaves in Africa. Voyage ID 16395 in www.slavevoyages.org.

197 The *Cowslip*, George Perry master, Noblet Ruddock & Co. owners, left Bristol on 29 Oct. 1725, intended to load 180 slaves in Africa, delivered 18 to Barbados and an unspecified number to Carolina, and returned to Bristol on 29 Nov. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 132. Another source states that 271 imputed slaves were embarked in Africa and 199 imputed slaves delivered to Charleston. Voyage ID 16404 in www.slavevoyages.org.

198 The *Hector Gally*, Benjamin Phipps master, Thomas Freke & Co. owners, left Bristol on 23 Nov. 1725, and intended to load 350 slaves in Africa. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 135. Another source adds that 271 imputed slaves embarked in Africa and 217 imputed slaves disembarked at Kingston. Voyage ID 16412 nin www.slavevoyages.org.

Antelope[199]	Eustace	300
Delight[200]	Stockdale	180
Marlborough		320
Castle[201]	Frost	250
Ann snow[202]	Bigloe	160
Joseph & Anna[203]	Holland	300
St Christophers[204]	Steer	150
Hetty John[205]	Barry	250
Little snow	Jackson	200
Tunbridge[206]	Little	350
Total		16950

199 The *Antelope*, James Eustace master, John Norman & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1724, intended to load 300 slaves in Africa, delivered 168 or 179 to Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 25 June 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 115. Another source states that the ship embarked 212 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 170 imputed slaves to Barbados. Voyage ID 16355 in www.slavevoyages.org.

200 The *Delight*, Peregrine Stockdale master, Nathaniel Wraxall owner, left Bristol on 9 Feb. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 146. Another source states that 271 imputed slaves embarked in Africa, 217 imputed slaves disembarked at Kingston, and that the ship was condemned by the British after the delivery of the captives. Voyage ID 16449 in www.slavevoyages.org.

201 The *Castle Gally*, Joseph Frost master, Samuel Jacob & Co. owners, left Bristol on 3 Nov. 1725 and intended to load 250 slaves in Africa. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 130. Another source states that 237 imputed slaves embarked in Africa and that 190 imputed slaves disembarked at an unknown location. Voyage ID 16399 in www.slavevoyages.org.

202 The *Anne*, Jabez Biglow master, left Bristol in 1724, intended to load 160 slaves in Africa, arrived at Barbados with 77 slaves and returned to Bristol on 2 Feb. 1726. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 115; voyage ID 16354 in www.slavevoyages.org.

203 The *Joseph and Anna*, William Holland master, Abraham Hooke owner, left Bristol on 24 Sept. 1724, intended to load 300 slaves in Africa, and delivered 230 slaves to Montserrat. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 121. Another source states that 287 imputed slaves embarked in Africa. Voyage ID 16371 in www.slavevoyages.org.

204 The *Saint Christopher Gally*, Robert Elston and James Beard masters, Richard Stear owner, left Bristol on 7 Sept. 1723, embarked 127 imputed slaves at Andony, disembarked 102 slaves at Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 10 July 1724. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 113; voyage ID 16349 in www.slavevoyages.org.

205 The nearest identifiable name is the *Hetty Snow*, Michael Jackson master, Abraham Hooke owner, which left Bristol on 4 Feb. 1726, intended to load 200 slaves in Africa, and delivered 136 slaves to Montserrat. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 148. Another sources states that the ship embarked 170 imputed slaves in Africa. Voyage ID 16456 in www.slavevoyages.org.

206 The *Tunbridge Gally*, Edward Little master, Edmund Saunders & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 Aug. 1726, intended to load 350 slaves in Africa, and delivered them to Jamaica. The voyage ended at Bristol on 30 Dec. 1727. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 151. Another source states that 271 imputed captives embarked in Africa and 217 imputed slaves disembarked in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16468 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[5] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Portledge bill[207] for the brig *Dispatch* to the coast of Africa, 1725, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

Wages per month	Privilege at Africa[208]	Privilege at America	Men	Quality	Wages advanced
£5	2 slaves	£20	William Barry	Commander	
£4	2 slaves	£10	John Ross	Chief mate	£4
£2 10s.			William Pyne	Chief mate	£2 10s.
£2			James Pyne	Doctor[209]	£2
£3 15s.			Matthew Thomas	Carpenter	£3 15s.
£2 10s.			Thomas McBride	Boatswain	£2 10s.
£2 15s.			Matthew Green	Cooper	£2 15s.
£1 12s. 6d.			Daniel Collins	Cook	£1 12s. 6d.
£1			John Wood	Landsman	£1
£1			Thomas Franks	Landsman	£1
16s.			William Nicholas	Landsman	16s.
£1 12s. 6d.			Thomas Whiteley	Sailor	£1 12s. 6d.
£1 8s.			Thomas Emerson	Sailor	£1 8s.
£1 12s. 6d.			Jacob Ellis	Sailor	£1 12s. 6d.
£1 12s. 6d.			Robert Gittins	Sailor	£1 12s. 6d.
£1 12s. 6d.			John Halsey	Sailor	£1 12s. 6d.
£1 12s. 6d.			Thomas Lennard	Sailor	£1 12s. 6d.
£1 12s. 6d.			Negro[210]	Sailor	£1 12s. 6d.
16s.			Morgan Price	Landsman	16s.
£1 8s.			Dennis Harrington	Sailor	£1 8s.
£40 5s.6d.					£35 5s. 6d.

207 i.e. a list of crew.

208 Captains of slaving vessels, and sometimes chief mates, were entitled to the sale of (usually) two 'privilege' slaves.

209 Probably not a qualified doctor of medicine but a surgeon, who performed as physician, surgeon and apothecary all in one.

210 In this list the white crew are named but the one black man is not.

[6] The National Archives, Kew, CO 388/25, S 37, Representation of John Becher,[211] Peter Day[212] and William Jefferis,[213] Bristol merchants, on behalf of themselves and of other merchants from that city trading to Africa to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 17 March 1725

The answer and representation of John Becher Peter Day William Jefferis of Bristol merchants on behalf of themselves & all the other merchants of the said city trading to the coast of Africa to the five several queries sent by your Lordships Secretary Mr Popple[214] by your Lordships order to Sir Abraham Elton[215] Barronet one of the representatives in Parliament for the said city of Bristol

First query Whether it be for the service of the Publick that the African trade should be carried on by a company or laid entirely open?

As experience forms the best means of knowledge so thereby it will appear that tis for the interest of the public to have the trade to Africa a free & open trade [for] His Majesty's subjects, for in the most flourishing time the Africa Company[216] has [operated] they never carried above 5,400 Negros per ann[um] whereas the separate traders[217] here do not carry less than 30,000 Negroes per ann[um] into the plantations whereto their rival industry they have been prompted to carry them even where the company have had little or no concern as Virginia Carolina and other parts on that continent and we think it necessary to acquaint your Lordships we have increased & do at present carry on the trade to Africa and what share have therein. When the 10 per cent duty ceased[218] we had but 7 or 8 sail of ships in that trade. But by the encouragement of Parliament we have pursued & improved this trade to that degree that we have now employed 63 sail of ships whose complement of negroes is 16,950. A list of the ships and the masters names hereto subjoin. Every one of these ships employ two more which are 126 the whole 189 sail. The ships to Africa we man with near one third land men. If the fishery and colliery work continue to be esteemed of that benefit to the nation which they have hitherto been it is apprehended this trade affords one great nursery for seamen. Idle cumberground[219] fellows are hereby taken on the shore and made usefull to their country. And let it be considered that a great

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211 A Bristol merchant active in the sugar trade between 1728 and 1743. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 195.

212 A partner in the Lewin's Mead sugar refinery, Bristol, in 1724. He managed twenty slaving voyages from Bristol between 1711 and 1734. Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol,' p. 146; Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, p. 29.

213 He managed thirty-four Bristol slaving voyages between 1713 and 1747. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, pp. 29-30.

214 Alured Popple (1699-1744), Secretary of the Board of Trade. Mary Patterson Clarke, 'The Board of Trade at Work,' *The American Historical Review*, 17, no. 1 (1911), p. 26.

215 A Bristol merchant who was a partner in the Counterslip sugar refinery, Bristol, in 1736. He was a Whig M.P. for Bristol between 1727 and 1742. Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol,' p. 146. See also Margaret Elton, *Annals of the Elton Family: Bristol Merchants and Somerset Landowners* (Stroud, 1994); Shirley Matthews, 'Elton, Sir Abraham, 1st Bt. (1679-1742), of Bristol and Cleveland Court, Som.' In Sedgwick, ed., *House of Commons, 1715-1754*, vol. 2, pp. 11-12.

216 The Royal African Company, a chartered joint-stock company heavily involved in the slave trade, with headquarters in London. Davies, *The Royal African Company*.

217 i.e. private merchants who were not connected to the RAC.

218 Under a parliamentary act of 1698, which lasted until 1712, the separate traders had to pay a duty of 10 per cent *ad valorem* on all exports to Africa. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, pp. 134-5.

219 i.e. a totally worthless person.

number of the present traders are sons of gentlemen of the best estate & fortunes who have served their apprenticeships to masters who had learned them the mistery of the African trade and who consequently have a natural right to the exercise of the trade they have learned in the most extensive liberty. We further beg leave to represent to your Lordships that the trade to Africa is now in a very flourishing condition & in no danger of decrease if continued as now carried on and that the true & just question at this time is how it may be so preserved and continued? And if on one hand a view is how we have increased & do at this time carry on the ttrade notwithstanding great losses we have in the course of it sustained from the pyrates[220] & on the other hand how the African Company have at several times have become used to carry on the trade, such an examination will determine the question that a free and open trade to Africa is much more beneficial to the public than a trade carried on by a joint stock company for a security by law is the best friend to industry & if the separate traders are freed from the apprehensions of a future disturbance Great Britain will have no cause to fear any rivals in trade.

Second whether it be necessary that the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa be kept

We think it necessary to let your Lordships know that the Company's first settlement or factory is in the River Gambo,[221] from thence to Dicks Cove[222] is about 430 leagues in which distance there is no settlement of the Africa Company yet great trade is carried on there by the separate traders for Negroes Gold Elephants teeth[223] dying wood[224] beeswax[225] &c their settlements or nominal forts are in the distance of about 40 odd leagues of the aforesaid place to Acra in all which part the Negroe trade is much abated occasioned by the securities & abuses putt on the natives for trading with the separate ships; from Acra to Angola is about 500 leagues more. In all that distance the company have no settlement except at Widah,[226] where they have a factory house which is nearly 4 miles inland from the sea yet the trade is at Sabre[227] six miles further up in the country; in this last space is the greatest market for Negroes on all the coast & consequently the factories settlements are not of use, as suggested by the company, for this reason further also, that all the trade of the coast

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220 Pirates existed on the west African coast in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. RAC forts were partly constructed to withstand pirate attacks. Conrad Gill, *Merchants and Mariners of the 18th Century* (London, 1961), pp. 78-9.

221 i.e. River Gambia. Refers to a fort on James Island. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, p. 9.

222 The RAC began to build a fort at Dixcove on the Gold Coast in 1692. Ibid., p. 249.

223 i.e. ivory.

224 Dyewoods were purchased from Calabar, Sierra Leone and the Loango coast. They were used particularly in the south-west English textile industry. Stephen D. Behrendt, A.J.H. Latham and David Northrup, eds., *The Diary of Antera Duke, an Eighteenth-Century African Slave Trader* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 84-5.

225 Beeswax comprised about a quarter of the goods exported by the RAC from the Gambia river in 1729-30. Michael W. Tuck, 'Everyday Commodities, the Rivers of Guinea, and the Atlantic World: The Beeswax Export Trade, c.1450–c.1800' in Toby Green, ed., *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa* (Oxford, 2012), p. 292.

226 Whydah/Ouidah, a leading port in the Bight of Benin, and the site of an RAC factory.

227 In March 1727 the factory at Sabre, once a seat of trade, was destroyed by the King of Dahomey's army. *Boston News-letter*, 19 Mar. 1727.

by the separate traders is carried on in their floating factorys[228] (the ships) except at Widah and Angola as aforesaid as the coast of Africa is very shoal and rocky. A great swell from the western ocean for the most part beats the shoar so that the company's guns can neither protect or annoy ships in their trade neither dare masters of ships seek for protection in very calm weather that only at Cape Coast Castle[229] where the shoar is equally dangerous & no trade. The constant practice of our masters has been whenever they saw an enemy either to put their ships in a position of defence or to endeavour to gett away by sailing according as the exigency of the case required. As we have always traded in defiance of the company's settlements & under as many difficultys as their factors could lay upon us we cannot think them necessary to trade. With humble submission to your Lordships we represent that one or two men of war is the only security to the trade on the coast and not settlements of any kind whatever.

Third – whether that expence ought not to lye on the trade? We are of the opinion that if the settlements are to be supported & maintained then the Crown should take & maintain them in regard that the prosperity of the plantations entirely depends on their being well supplyed with negroes. We desire to referr your Lordships to the custom house books for a particular account how the produce of the Plantations has been increased since the trade has been laid open, and as the increase of the plantations' growth is an addition to His Majesty's revenue & consumption of our manufactures, it seems just to us that the charges should attend the profits; our trade is to be considered with regard to our rival neighbours the Portuguese, French & Dutch, if we cannot go the coast on equal terms with them we may be in danger of looseing the trade. Whilst we paid the duty of 10 per cent we could never exceed 7 or 8 sail of ships as aforesaid that tax being so great a load & had it continued longer we must have abandon'd the trade but if we are not crampt at home we fear no foreign rivals.

Fourth – what the present value of those settlements is? In the common method of buying & selling the settlers make the Demand & Property out & specify in a particular manner what it is they have to sell, as the Africa Company have not [damaged] in a stormy condition.

Fifth- In what manner may the property be purchased & how it shall be maintained for the future in the hands of the Crown or otherwise?

If it should be thought necessary for the preservation of property to the Crown that one or other of the settlements be kept and supported on the coast of Africa it being already shewn they are no use to trade; this being national which should have the possession but His Majesty as the expence will be but a trifle, so its humbly hoped that your lordships will be of opinion that the trade to Africa should be free and open to all His Majesty's subjects not clogged with any duty or limitation whatsoever. The separate traders are under no terror of his just administration. All his subjects would then be on a level in their trade thither & the same would continue to flourish and does to this day, but if it should be lodged in the hands of this or any other company we are under the greatest apprehension of looseing the said trade the consequence

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228 These were usually old ships anchored near the west African coast. They were used for the exchange of goods and slaves with African middlemen. In areas such as the Iles de Los, Sierra Leone, they served as accommodation centres for captives. Bruce L. Mouser, 'Iles de Los as bulking center in the slave trade, 1750-1800,' *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, 83 (1996), pp. 77-91.

229 This was the main headquarters of the RAC on the Gold Coast. The company's Agent-General resided there. William St Clair, *the Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade* (London, 2007).

whereof has already been shewn

My Lords

The many reasons that may be given to shew how much more beneficial or indeed any other trade must be to the nation in general in the hands of private traders than in that of a company is what we at present forbear trouble your Lordships with not only being conscious the same must be obvious to your Lordships but as we are fully persuaded we shall have opportunity in person by ourselves and council of stating these or any matters we shall apprehend to be necessary in their fulest light to your Lordships which we beg leave to desire the rather for that we find according to represent to your Lordships that the petition to His Majesty from the Royal African Company dated the 15th of February last & referred to your Lordships is the foundation of this present enquiry contains many unjust suggestions false facts which in our apprehension makes it necessary for us to desire to be heard thereon. Accordingly we do desire that the said African Company may be required to verify by proof (if they can) the suggestions and facts of this their petition and that your Lordships will be pleased to give leave that we may be heard by ourselves our council touching the same before your Lordships come to any resolution on the said petition.

John Becher
Peter Day
William Jefferis

[7] The National Archives, Kew, CO 388/25, S 67, Account of the African Trade by Mr Becher[230] of Bristol, 4 May 1726

As a merchant from Bristol, and deputed from that city, I beg your Lordships favour to be heard, and indulgence in using these notes.

The enquiry now before your Lordships being grounded on the Royal Affrican Company's petition to His Majesty, dated the 15th of February last, and their representation to my Lord Townshend,[231] dated the 18th of December 1724, having been fully explained, I shall not further trouble your Lordships therewith but make some observations on them and the trade on the coast of Affrica, on which I will be as brief as possible, therefore humbly crave your Lordship's patience which I will trespass upon as little as may be.

My Lords, The Citty of Bristol when the trade to Africa opened in 1698 under the duty of 10 per cent, immediately embarked in it with vigour and employed several ships, but such a heavy clogg was that duty upon us that we never could exceed 7 or 8 sail till the expiration of that duty, since which time the Affrican trade has abundantly flourish'd and increas'd, not only in our city but in London, Liverpoole and other places.

A list of our ships we took the liberty to lay before your Lordships annex'd to our answers to your Lordship's queries dated the 17th March last. It amounted to 63 in number who went for 16,950 Negroes and as I am really inform'd there's now employd from this city between 80 or 90, from Liverpoole upwards of 20, from

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230 John Becher: see document no. 6.

231 Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount Townshend, a Whig statesman. Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, 'Townshend, Charles, second Viscount Townshend (1674-1738)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 55 (2004), pp. 138-44.

Lime[232] and other ports five or six, and from the plantations about 20 sail, all which amount to 190 or upwards, which is more than ever was employed at any time before, and can carry more than fourty thousand Negroes into the plantations, which is seven times more than ever the Affrican company did in their greatest prosperity, which I think fully evinces that the suggestion of the company in their petition to His Majesty that at this time the trade is in danger of being lost and consequently the British plantations in hazard of being ruined and undone, as also in their representation to my Lord Townshend that the plantations have greatly suffer'd (which I apprehend they mean for want of Negroes) and that neither [they] nor we, the separate traders, have been able for several years past to send thither near the number they yearly want, these my Lords their own words, all which I hope your Lordships are of opinion not true, nor to be supported, for the plantations were never better or so well supply'd as at present, and have been of late years, which will be prov'd by the several merchants and gentlemen's testimony now ready to be examin'd before your Lordships so that it is apparent that a free and open trade to Affrica is most beneficial to the nation in all its parts and not by a company of what denomination soever.

Trade free and open always flourishes and there is as much danger of loosing the Portugal, Spanish, or Italian trades which were formerly carried on by company's as this to Affrica if continued free & open and not put under any restraint.

We of Bristol Liverpoole and other western ports are debarred from trading to almost ¾ of the world by law and from the North, Baltick &c by situation so that where we are not restrain'd there we push trade with the utmost vigour as is evident from the great advance we have made, so that I hope your Lordships will be of opinion not to curb or debar us from what naturally belongs to us, a free trade which if alter'd from the present method and use it is now carried on, will be the inevitable ruin of our present flourishing city & of very great prejudice to our neighbouring counties which much depend upon us.

Our genius naturally bends to trade and when attended with tolerable success we pursue it and were it not for the alarm & apprehensions of the designs of the company, several more ships would now have been in building for Affrica but that is defer'd and trade stagnated as it will so continue until deliverd from our present fears. To confirm it at this time some hundreds usually employed at Birmingham[233] and the parts adjacent in making gun locks, barrels &c for Affrica are turn'd off, their masters apprehensive of the loss of the trade.

The list of ships we laid before your Lordships is what are new on the trade, but please to observe, that several of those ships make three voiages in about two years time. This shews the Number of Negroes imported into the Plantations is rather more than as by our sail list, and by what I can learn, all other the separate traders are full and diligent and applicable to business as we are, so that the company's suggestions, that the plantations will want Negroes, or that the trade is in danger of being lost is groundless & not to be hearken'd to.

In the Company's Representation to my Lord Townshend which was about five

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232 Lyme Regis.

233 Birmingham and the Black Country regularly provided firearms for the slave trade. For a detailed study see W. A. Richards, 'The Birmingham gun manufactory of Farmer and Galton and the slave trade in the eighteenth century' (University of Birmingham M.A. thesis, 1972).

years after the ingraftment in 1720[234] they say they had been at upwards of £600,000 charge in carrying on & supporting their trade, forts & settlements, altho' they said before your Lordships they exported but about £340,000 what is become of the returns of that sum (for it could not be all lost) and the remaining £260,000 your Lordships may easy judge, by the distress they express'd thermselves then to be under, and their abandoning or putting an entire stop to their trade since, shews as if all that vast sum was sunk, and lost, which is very surprising. Certainly it shows it is not a scheme for trade for a Company, for since that time of ingraftment, the Company have not imported into all the Plantations but little more than 9,000 Negroes, contracted with the South Sea Company[235] for 3,000 of which they deliver'd but about 2,000 and with the Portuguese for 1,200, which they deliver'd on the coast, all which is but a trifling number for so great a sum and shews that the Affrica Company is not capable of carrying on a trade like private merchants, for at Bristol at that time, 1720, we had but 25 or 26 ships on that trade, and now so much increas'd and Liverpool increas'd more in proportion.

We of the outports have no view but foreign trading, we have no exchange alley projects, no calls to make dividends, 'tis trade and merchandise only we subsist by, and by that only the plantations have so greatly increas'd.

The trade to Affrica my Lords is of that nature that the Sun is not more visible at noon day than that it cannot be supported or carried on by a company. Witness the failure and derstruction of all that were ever concern'd in such, as well the English as foreigners, for by what I can learn they are alike under the same circumstances; but what our Affrica company so much value themselves upon is their forts & settlements which my Lords are so far from being advantageous to trade or as they say without which no trade could be carried on, that they are the greatest obstacles and hindrance to trade imaginable, for I positively aver that from all masters of ships usually trading on the coast which I have convers'd with and many others, they all agree and declare those forts and settlements are not in the least capable to protect them in trade or necessary thereto; but on the contrary oppress the separate traders, all in their power, so that instead of being protected or assisted, they are impeded and often deny'd the common necessarys of wood and water &ca.

The manner of our trade on the coast is sett forth in the answer to your Lordships' queries, which is justly true, and although the Africa company in their late remonstrance to your Lordships dated 31st of March last are pleased to say they cannot but be exceedingly surprised that any person that pretends the least knowledge of this trade should say they are sensible and convinced by long experience that the forts and settlements on the coast of Affrica are not necessary or usefull to be kept up or maintained for the benefit of trade. I must beg leave to say if the present worthy directors were as well acquainted with the nature of the trade on the coast of Africa as most separate traders are, notwithstanding it would be so much in their interest to

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234 In 1720 new RAC shares were ingrafted to the company's capital at a discount of 25 per cent. According to the Duke of Chandos, this subscription raised over £2 million in new company shares. William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), pp. 67, 168.

235 A London-based private company that exercised the right under the *asiento* agreed in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) to supply Spanish America with slaves. Elizabeth Donnan, 'The Early Days of the South Sea Company, 1711-1718,' *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 2 (1930), pp. 419-50; Palmer, *Human Cargoes*.

say the contrary, I am persuaded they would be of the same opinion with us, so that the reflexion is only an error in judgement, in which I am the more confirmed by the proposition made by their learned council of having the sole trade of 300 leagues only from Gambia, which if granted, which I hope never will, for one single league, they would then be excluded from all their owm settlements by 150 leagues, which shows they are not thoroughly acquainted with the coast or that their mapps by which they form judgements are false.

To read the decription of their forts as laid down in the remonstrance to your lordships they are decribing such places as Calais, Graveling,[236] Dunkirk in its prosperity, Ostend & the like of a vast life and importance even for protecting men of warr as urgd by one of their learned councill, whereas they are only factory houses, for securing the company's goods, not a protection to any ships trading there, as will be fully prov'd; and by the report of this honourable board to her late Majesty Queen Ann dated the 3rd of February 1707[237] the Affrica Company did then allow that their said forts were not capable of resisting an attack from an European enemy; how the present company come to be of a different opinion, is best known to themselves, for their forts are not in a better condition than they were at that time; James Island in the River Gambia,[238] by the description of it as given by the company to your lordships, is one of their principal forts which when under the command of their famous governor Mr [John] Snow[239] was taken by only two Frenchmen, and as he says himself ransom'd for 40 slaves, the value of £400 African money which is not above £200 sterling but my Lords it will appear and be prov'd that negroes at that time in that place did not cost so much by one third, so that the value of this great fort is not above £130 sterling if so much, by which your lordships may easily form a judgement of the value of the rest of their nominal forts; this fort was several other times taken, in time of war, and at last demolish'd by the French,[240] and lay so in its ruins many years, during which time neither French, Dutch or any other nation whatever attempted to possess themselves of it, so little was it valued but tis now blown up by accident, and were all the rest of the company's forts in the same condition, the Affrica trade would now be in a better state than now it is, they being the only opponents we have on all the coast where we trade, besides my Lords, the whole coast of Africa is shoal & rocky, and in all our ships trading to windward, and the Gold Coast, we send spare anchors, which are frequently lost, the cables often cut, by the foulness of the ground, so that instead of our ships being protected by the forts, they cannot safely anchor within reach of their guns.

We of the city of Bristol are so sensible of the little use of them that to end the dispute, we will submit to their sinking many of our ships when they come within reach of their guns which we would not do if we thought them anyway necessary

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236 i.e. Gravelines, situated at the mouth of the river Aa, northern France.

237 This occurred after the RAC petitioned Queen Anne to restore its monopoly. The Queen referred the petition to the Board of Trade and this began a lengthy struggle between the RAC and the separate traders over their respective claims. D.A.G. Waddell, 'Queen Anne's Government and the Slave Trade,' *Caribbean Quarterly*, 6, no. 1 (1960), p. 8.

238 The French seized the fort at James Island on three occasions – in 1695, 1702 and 1704. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, p. 273.

239 His observations of 1705 about how to reorganise the RAC are printed in ibid., pp. 367-71.

240 In 1695 a French naval squadron exploded James Fort, in the River Gambia, with mines. Kenneth Morgan, ed., *The British Transatlantic Slave Trade. Volume 2. The Royal African Company* (London, 2003), p. 337.

to protect or preserve trade. Certainly the separate traders who have and design to continue the trade would not be such enemys to themselves so unanimously to deny their being necessary, if they thought so, besides my Lords the company have no fort or settlement on the coast but between Dicks Cove[241] and Accra, which is within the distance of 50 leagues in all which space there is but little trade for Negroes except Anamaboe,[242] which is seated in the midst of the company's settlements, and has been prov'd even by their own witness Mr Snow to be free and open to all trading nations. There were other places of good trade in those parts but by the severity & evil practices of the company's chief factors and agents to the natives tis almost lost particularly where they have the greatest command, so that tis removed to distant places for finding themselves ill used at the settlements they many miles distant strike out of that road to places above or below it and making the signals of trade when on the coast goe off in their canoes and trade with the separate ships.

The places for trade to windward is where the company never had any settlement, which is carried on chiefly by the separate traders, so likewise to leeward; their settlement or factory at Widah[243] being under that king who observes an exact neutrality, encourages trade with all nations and is paid his duty alike by all traders whatever, both company's and separate so it would be the greatest discouragement and hardship on the British subjects to be prevented or hindered from trade to free places to which they in common with all other nations have a Liberty and Right to do.

The company likewise say they have a fort at Bents Island[244] in the River Sierra Leon of 50 guns. If true, they are much increas'd since October last, for then there was not above ten or twelve mounted, and those with the fort in a shatter'd ruinous condition, and no ways qualified for the defence or protection of trade, which is demonstrable ftrom the pirates, who a few years ago took it without opposition, not being in a posture of making any defence. Here they careen'd and did as they pleased, besides My Lords tis eight leagues up the river and of no use being on a very sickly and unhealthy river, a perfect bane to an English constitution.

My Lords I must beg to make one observation on the Affrican company's said representation that they have not mention'd how many men are in each fort, but in general soldiers, carpenters, smiths &ca. whereas if a true state was render'd it would appear they have not 50 white men in the whole, of all degrees, those settlements being so sickly that they are certain graves for Britons, as is manifest by the miners sent by the company a few years since, the greatest part died soon after their arrival there so that but a very few return'd.

In the description of their forts and settlents they say they are for opening a trade for gold, from whence it might be conjectur'd that vast quantitys may be importd from thence, but instead thereof, the Affrica company as they have shewn coin'd all the gold they imported which from 1675 to 1698 inclusive 25 years was short of 500,000 guineas not 20,000 per annum & from 1698 to 1720 inclusive twenty years

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241 i.e. Dixcove.

242 Situated in the middle of the Gold Coast, Anomabu was the largest slave-trading port on that coast in the eighteenth century. Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*, p. 3.

243 i.e. Whydah or Ouidah.

244 Bence (sometimes Bunce or Bance) Island. Slave trading activity there is considered in detail in David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 172-220.

they coin'd in the whole[245] but about 45,000 whch is about 2,250 per annum whereas a gentleman here present who with the rest of the separate traders have not the benefit or liberty to trade at the company's places, do annually import on his own account near double the quantity of gold the Company did in the best of their trading and the other traders do proportionable, which with the great numbers of Negroes carry'd to the plantations as likewise supplying the Asientists[246] shew how much the trade is improv'd and extended and free from any manner of danger; where trade is free and open, the British merchants fear no rivals, and I dare say if we are not put under any restraint, as I have no apprehension of, from the present wise and just ministry, under his most sacred majesty, whom God long preserve, the separate traders when deliver'd from future fears, which we have been alarmed in of late, will yet extend and enlarge the Affrican trade much to the interest of the nation by increase of the revenue, encouragement of trade, navigation and our manufactures as they have lately done.

The forts and settlements as I took the liberty before to acquaint your lordships in the united judgement of all separate traders are not necessary to preserve trade in any respect. How much His Majesty's property & sovereignty is concern'd, we dare not take it upon us to say, only if Cape Coast Castle worth all the rest, which undoubtedly is the nation's property, being a conquest of our men of war taken from the Dutch in 1665 by Sir Thomas Allin[247] and after yielded by treaty,[248] is thought proper to be supported; we hope it will be in the Crown and not by any company for there in case of ill usage by any officer, we can have a fair hearing and redress whereas that can't be expected from any company who in themselves are enemys to all separate traders, as we have experienced their severe treatment of our ships and effects on the coast.

My Lords, the rise of pirates is generally on the African coast. That is the place they frequently resort unto to support themselves with men and necessarys out of our ships which we fatally experienced in the year 1721 when we had taken and destroy'd by them upwards of 50 sail of ships, to the exceeding great loss and damage of many of us.[249] These are our great and chiefest enemys. Therefore frequent returns of men of war and ranging on the coast, which may be done with very little charge by His Majesty's ships of war making the Affrica coast their way to the West Indies. This method would effectually preserve the coast and be the only security to trade, not forts and settlements, as insinuated by the Africa company; as to the dearness of Negroes that speaks itself and is not in the power of the company if they had the trade exclusive, or as it is now, the separate traders join'd with them to prevent it. All other

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245 Gold obtained in West Africa was delivered to the Royal Mint in London and there coined into guineas. Between 1673 and 1711 548,327 guineas of gold were coined for the Royal African Company. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, pp. 181, 360.

246 i.e. those merchants connected with the South Sea Company who held the *asiento* (licence) to supply slaves to Spanish America.

247 An English naval commander (1612-85) who was a Lowestoft shipowner and royal privateer in the 1640s and who played a prominent role in the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-7). R. C. Anderson, ed., *The Journals of Sir Thomas Allin 1660-1678*, 2 vols. Naval Records Society (London, 1939-40); C. S. Knighton, 'Allin, Sir Thomas, first baronet (bap. 1612 d. 1685)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 1, pp. 858-60.

248 The Company of Royal Adventurers retained possession of Cape Coast Castle after the end of the Anglo-Dutch war of 1665-7. Davies, *The Royal African Company*, p. 43.

249 Four large pirate ships menaced the Gold Coast in 1721-2. Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 79.

nations trade there freely in as great or greater degree than we do in the plantations at this time, and have been so often undone. 'Tis manifest they are not a company anyways calculated to carry on a trade, and we hope your Lordships will be of the same opinion.

One objection my Lords made in favour of the company is that some now present who deny any life or necessity of the forts on the Africa coast were formerly of a different opinion as appears by a remonstrance made to this honourable board in 1711/12.[250] My Lords with the greatest submission that is not allow'd by these gentlemen, and I presume to say they have fully explain'd themselves thereupon, but were it so, 'tis not at this time material, for 15 years experience will convince and shew a necessity of differing from former opinions, that what then was thought proper is not now. Besides my Lords if you please to consider the time, the year 1711/12 when such violent attacks were made that even what was and is most dear to us, which now we happily enjoy in his majesty and his illustrious family, and our freedom and libertys, in the fullest manner was in apparent danger. A time my Lords when the happy and seasonable revolution and the ever glorious author of it was exploded and vilified, the brave assertors of it and the libertys of their country censur'd, remov'd, depriv'd and imprison'd; such a high hand carried and declar'd in favour of the Africa company who, as fame says, was and till but very lately have continued great votary's to the gentlemen then in power; it cannot be admir'd if the separate traders, who were generally of a different interest, made a concession, which is demonstrable from there then submitting to setting up a regulated company which is destructive to a free and open trade, they might preserve part of a trade which they greatly apprehended they were in danger of being totally deprived of. Such a concession can't be thought an act of choice, but a force of absolute necessity in that critical time, and I do declare this was then our sentiments at Bristol, but waving all that our experience has since taught us that the forts & settlements are not necessary to trade on the coast of Africa, and I hope our Lordshps will please to observe that the vote of the then House of Commons was that the trade to Africa should be and remain free, and open to all her Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and the plantations, which without doubt is the best and only method to preserve and continue it to be of the utmost benefit and advantage to His Majesty's revenue, the support of the plantations, and promoting trade and navigation. The company insist much on the Dutch buying Cape 3 Points[251] from the King of Prussia, which is alledged cost £30,000.[252] My Lords tis true the Dutch bought that, and with it Arguim, on the Gum coast[253] in South

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250 One of many responses by the RAC in 1711-12 to the challenge posed by the separate traders. In those years the RAC came close to being dissolved. William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and thec Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2013), pp. 102-6.

251 Situated on a small peninsula, the southernmost tip of the Gold Coast.

252 In 1682 the Brandenburg African Company, founded by the Prussian Duke Friedrich Wilhelm, built a fort on a mountain near Cape Three Points on the Gold Coast. Andrea Weindl, 'The Slave Trade of Northern Germany from the Seventeenth to the Noneteenth Centuries' in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT, 2008), p. 253.

253 A small island off the coast of southern Mauretania. Named after gum Arabic, which is the hardened sap of the Acacia Senegal tree.

Barbary,[254] for both which they gave only 30,000 florins[255] which is not quite £30,000 sterling, so much would they impose upon your Lordships. The truth of the fact is, the Dutch had taken a ship on the coast with the King of Prussia's commission, tho in reality a Dutch interloper. Complaint was made by the owners to his Prussian majesty, whereupon he gave directions to his ministers at the Hague to demand satisfaction. From thence this arose and the money paid as compensation for the ship, for which the right of those settlements were given up, they being before abandon'd by the Prussians and become derelict.

[8] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, AMS/4, An Account of what slaves have dyed on Board the *Castle Galley*[256] of Bristol in her second voyage to Guinea, 1727-8, in Ship *Castle*'s Day Book, second voyage to Africa

Date	Place of death	Cause of death	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
16 November 1727	Andony[257]			1		
17	"			1		
29	At sea		1	1		
31 December	"	Dysentery		1		
7 February 1728	Barbados	"				2
10	"	"	2			
12	"	Apoplexy	1			
5 March	At sea	Dysentery		1		
10	"	Pleuristic fever	1	1		
12	Chesapeake Bay	"	1			
21	York River[258]	"		1		
22	"	"	1	1		
27	West Point[259]	Dysentery	1			
1 April	"	"			1	
6	"	"			1	
8		"				1
9	"	"			1	
10	"	Apoplexy		1		

254 Former designation for a coastal region of north-west Africa.

255 The florin or guilder was the currency of the Netherlands from 1434 to 2002.

256 The *Castle*, David Montgomery captain, Samuel Jacob & Co. owners, left Bristol c.27 July 1727, embarked slaves at Calabar, disembarked them at York River, Virginia and returned to Bristol on 17 Aug. 1728. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 153. This voyage is not included in www.slavevoyages.org.

257 Near Bonny in the Bight of Biafra.

258 This flows out into the Chesapeake Bay.

259 A town in Virginia at a point where the Mattaponi and Pamunkey rivers flow into the York River.

12	"	"		1		
17	"	Dysentery	1			
30	"	"				1
1 May	"	"			1	
5	At Mr Moore's house				1	
6						1
7			2			
9						1
Totals			11	10	5	6

[9] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, John Jones, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 13 February 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

My last to you was by Captain Power which I hope is got safe to your hands since which the *Princess Mary* and *Catherine* are arrived here from Bristol and Cork, which still keeps our market for Bristoll goods & provisions very low, and there's little prospect of it rising for some months. Your cordage still lies on hand. Every ship from Bristol has brought some, which makes that commodity in no demand & as the country is now so full of it I can't think it your interest to send any soon.

On the 4th instant the *Tunbridge* arriv'd here from the Bite with 300 slaves.[260] She stopped at Barbados where they would not fetch £19 per head. I am fearful we shall get but little credit by that sale, seeing there was so many small boys & girls & but very few choice men in that cargo. But considering the great quantity of the slaves I think they are well sold. There's about 25 unsold. I believe we shall be able to dispose of 'em soon, so as to bring her sale out at about £21 round. The *Cornwall*[261] & *Ruby*[262] are both arrived here the first from the Bite with about 330 slaves and the last from the Gold Coast with 236. They were both choice cargo & doubtless sold very well. As to the affairs of our house, I can't say very little off; seeing there's no books ballanced since our partnership but we have now agreed with a person who I hope will be able to finish our first set, which was for 21 months, in about 3 months' time. You shall have an account thereof. My partners have committed no small error in the *Tunbridge's* account the last voyage. They have wrote you on that head to which refer. We have now a good carefull clerk, & we shall take care that no such mistakes

260 The *Tunbridge*, Edward Little master, Edmund Saunders & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 July 1728, purchased slaves in Africa, sold 300 at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 175. Additional details are provided in www.slavevoyages.org under voyage ID 16544: the ship embarked 375 imputed slaves at Calabar.

261 The *Cornwall*, James Rowles master, Peter Day & Co., including Christopher Shooter, owners, left Bristol on 25 June 1728, embarked 435 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 330 or 340 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 26 Aug. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 165; Voyage ID 16513 in www.slavevoyages.org.

262 The *Ruby*, Jonathan Arding master, Richard Farr & Co., including Henry Lloyd, owners, left Bristol on 22 June 1728, embarked 297 imputed slaves at the Gold Coast, delivered 238 slaves to Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 26 Aug. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 173; Voyage ID 16539 in www.slavevoyages.org.

shall be made for the [torn page]. Our former servant Lane died before my arrival here. Mr Tyndall[263] has taken to his affairs & as soon as his apparel is dispos'd of & his debts are paid balance if any shall be sent to his father agreeable to his last desire.

There will be a great crop of sugars this year tho they are long in coming to market. We have purchased 32 hogsheads for the *Mediterranean*[264] whom we shall dispatch as soon as possible. The country is now exceeding hot & sickly & especially among the sailors who dies very fast. For my part I've had my health very well since my arrival here & I don't doubt (but with the Almighty's assistance) the continuance of it. My partner WT intends for England some time this Year, when I hope he'll settle matters so as we shall be certain of 2 or 3 Gold Coast Men yearly, when we shall be on as good footing as our neighbours. I can't but do my partners that justice that I think they can & are as capable of disposing a cargoe of slaves as any house here but it's impossible for 'em or any one else to make a bad cargo turn out so well as a good. I have nothing more at this time to say but service to all friends & that you'l believe me to be with much respect.

[10] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton,[265] Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 17 February 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

Since our last of 2nd instant are not with any of your favours per *Clement*, which should have been glad of for our better regulation remitting to our friends. Mr Lane writes Mr Hickman that sugars had a start, which were glad to hear after such quantities dropping in together. Our crop is late and little new sugars at market; the *Neptune* will be one of the first, are not without hopes that sugars will break reasonable, tho the uniting of Gale & Company & Atkins[266] into one house may be a means in some measure to hinder it having the greatest share of factorage[267] than any other house, and others must be govern'd by them or lose their business, that to us it seems most inconsistent that they can well serve the people in England & honestly their employers in Jamaica all planters coveting to Imploy such factors that sell dearest. However at present they seem to be more in the merchants power, the South Sea Company buying all Negroes that are imported here that are in good condition & young & give bills for what they buy. Their indult[268] is annually for four or five thousd. Negroes, and

263 Onesiphorus Tyndall (bap. 1689-1757), a Bristol drysalter, grocer and merchant partner of Isaac Hohouse. See Iain S. Black, 'Tyndall, Onesiphorus (bap. 1689, d. 1757), banker and merchant' in Harrison and Matthew, eds., *ODNB*, 55, p. 794; Bristol Archives, Three letters to Isaac Hobhouse, Onesiphorus Tyndall, merchants of Bristol, from their agents in the West Indies, 1723-36, acc. 8029/16; Morgan, 'Sugar Refining in Bristol,' p. 146.

264 The *Mediterranean*, Thomas Dolman master, Richard Lougher, Isaac Hobhouse, William Baker and Abraham Hooke owners, left Bristol on 16 Apr. 1728, embarked 378 imputed slaves in Africa, delivered 55 slaves at Barbados and 248 at Kingston, Jamaica, and arrived back at Bristol on 16 June 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 170; Voyage ID 16529 in www.slavevoyages.org.

265 Slave factors at Kingston, Jamaica. Richardson, *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 178.

266 The Bristol merchants Isaac Gale and Michael Atkins. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, pp. 36, 183.

267 Factors were agents in colonial ports who handled the sale of goods and slaves.

268 In the Spanish legal system an *indulto* was a fine paid by a lawbreaker in return for the remission of any further penalty. Here the reference is to an *indulto* for purchasing slaves illegally imported, probably by smugglers. The purchasers hoped that these slaves could later be legalised. Andrew James Rutledge, 'Enemies bound by Trade: Jamaica, Cuba, and the shared world of Contraband in Atlantic Empires, 1710-1760' (University of Michigan PhD, 2018), p. 157.

are three years behind so that it's not possible for a supply this year. They buy Gold Coast & Widdaws[269] before any other country, after them Angollas and then Calabars & notwithstanding the great want of the planters, they can't have interest enough to buy any others than the remains of a cargoe after Pratter[270] & we are glad to see the company declaration that they intend to import no more themselves & is no more than we advised you of some time ago. We [find] our neighbouring houses wish to be interested in Gold Coast men. We leave it entirely to you to concern us in anything you may think proper that may conduce to the interest of the ballance which we hope stands on as good foundation of credit as any other & are sure no man's effects are kept behind but remit as fast as we can to receive.

Our old friend Captain Saunders writes us per *Clement* without finding fault only that we ship on New England bottoms. You know that we & many others can't avoid it, if remit at all, not a ship in ten that's Old England built. Should be glad you kept a good ship of three or four hundred hogsheads in the trade, that might give some satisfaction to some of our imployers. The balance of *Leghorn*'s account shall go on the *Neptune*. The station's balance must take a little time to examin in, it being intermixt with ropework account. Your particular account shall be soon transmitted & advise you early enough for a remittance by the *Wheeler* per the following ships.

Enclosed is account sales of merchandise per *Tryton* on yours & Mr Hardings account nets £756 21 5¼ & is pass'd to your credit on which account shall ship you three hundred pounds on the *Neptune* Captain Wheeler & is more than shall be in cash giving credit to factors and planters till sugars come to market. Provisions mend a little. Beef 40/ butter if good 7d to 9d. Now the trade of the coast goes on we shall have a tolerable demand all the year. Castile soap[271] is 52/6 & the country is full. Madeira wine £18 flour 25/ British bread 20/ dry goods of all kinds a drugg, small cordage we want again from a 6 thread prattling to 5 inches & cables three or four from seven inches to nine inches what we sell for 45 shillings for a single sail & the outside of the market.

We are doing what we can to bring our books forward that we may send you an account of the profits & loss of the partnership during Mr Jones's lifetime, but there is such a number of outstanding debts a great many of which are [damaged]. We cannot yet possibly do it but shall with all expedition.

[11] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 13 March 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

The 18th ultimo we writt you the needful, since that are with your favour of 3rd January per *Catherine* noting that our insurance was done in the *Aurora*[272] of whose arrival we expect to hear per your next. We are all deceived in the quantity of sugars &

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269 Slaves from Ouidah (Whydah), Benin.

270 Edward Pratter was an *asiento* agent for the South Sea Company in Jamaica between 1714 and his death in 1735. In his will he left properties in Kingston and half shares in three Jamaican sugar plantations. Rutledge, 'Enemies bound by Trade', pp. 167, 171.

271 A hard soap made with olive oil, originally from Castile, Spain.

272 The *Aurora*, Thomas Davis master, Edmund Saunders & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1729, purchased slaves in Africa, sold 270 at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 3 Feb. 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 176. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 16549 in www.slavevoyages.org: 337 imputed slaves were embarked in Africa.

accordingly disappointed of freight for the *Dorothy*, the crop falling short the price got up 2/ per cent more than at the beginning of the year and is one reason put a stop to our buying. It's our opinion the crop will be shortened much for want of rain, none falling for two months. We can't help thinking that indigo good at 2/9 or 2/10 per cwt will make a good return. All the London advices say it's worth 2/6 or 2/8 but believe that market 2d or 3d above yours. Be assur'd the greatest part of returns for Negroes will be in bills or money, especially for Gold Coast's & Pappaw's,[273] which the South Sea Factors[274] buy before any others & are sorry such large ships as the *Union*[275] & *Cato*[276] are gone to the Bite where fear they'l make miserable work of it. It's now twenty weeks since the *Goldfinch*[277] left the *Cato* with 130 slaves & the people very sickly & the many dead [illegible]. We doubt not selling most of them to Pratter if they prove tolerable; *Jamaica*[278] & *Greyhound*[279] are satisfied would have found better here than to wyndward. The *Leghorn*'s balance is revised to be remitted & more is shipp'd in little *Betty*'s[280] account than have received. The *Mary* pink's liquor we are retailing at 17/6 per 20/ per gallon Shall hardly finish this year & shall the next ship on that account, the *Lyon*'s[281] effects not paid for by the country which is hard on us being still in advance for her. Mr Laroche[282] says she is ordered for Virginia. Your *Neptune* will be in the next week to take in. The crop is so late that but few new sugars yet at market and we stand off from buying. You'l find most of what's

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273 An ethnic designation used for some slaves from the Gold Coast region. Gregory O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2014), p. 42.

274 Agents in Jamaica for the London-based South Sea Company, involved in purchasing imported slaves for re-export to Spanish America under the *asiento* contract.

275 The *Union*, Thomas Dolman master, James Laroche & Co. owner, left Bristol in 1729, embarked 276 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 209 imputed slaves in Jamaica, and arrived back at Bristol on 25 June 1731. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 190; voyage ID 16594 in www.slavevoyages.org.

276 The *Cato*, Thomas Marshall master, Walter & Richard Lougher & Co. owners, delivered slaves from Old Calabar to Barbados and returned to Bristol on 9 July 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 178. Further details are that the owners were Walter Lougher, Richard Lougher, Isaac Hobhouse, Onesiphorus Tyndall and Richard Assheton, and that 461 imputed slaves embarked and 350 imputed slaves disembarked. Voyage ID 16555 in www.slavevoyages.org.

277 The *Goldfinch*, Rice Harris master, Henry Dampier & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1729, embarked 321 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 240 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 23 June 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 181; voyage ID 16563 in www.slavevoyages.org.

278 The *Jamaica*, Thomas Quircke master, [William Gordon & Co.] owners, delivered 190 slaves to St Kitts and returned to Bristol on 12 May 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 183. According to another source, this ship embarked 237 imputed slaves. Voyage D 16570 in www.slavevoyages.org.

279 The *Greyhound*, Edward Halden master, Isaac Hobhouse & Co. owners, delivered slaves to Barbados/ South Carolina and returned to Bristol on 3 June 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 181. Another source notes that the ship left Bristol in 1729, embarked 437 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 332 at either Barbados or South Carolina. Voyage ID 16564 in www.slavevoyages.org.

280 The *Betty*, Thomas Kennedy master, Peter Day & Co. owners, took slaves from the Gold Coast, disembarked either 231 or 320 at Kingston and arrived back at Bristol on 6 June 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 177. Another source adds that 370 imputed slaves were loaded at Anomabu. Voyage ID 16552 in www.slavevoyages.org.

281 The *Lyon*, Evan Bowen master, James Laroche owner, left Bristol in 1729, embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 217 imputed slaves in Jamaica and ended her voyage at Bristol on 24 Mar. 1731. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 186; Voyage ID 16580 in www.slavevoyages.org.

282 James Laroche managed 132 slaving voyages from Bristol between 1728 and 1769, the highest number of voyages managed by a Bristol merchant. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, pp. 29-30.

yet shipped old sugars of an unkindly look.

Are glad to find the ships you mention fitting for Africa. But surely the Bite trade must be overdone, as we fear a Little time will discover. Besides you may depend on quicker & better returns for Gold Coasts & Widdaws than any other Country. We are not without hopes to bring the planters on same terms of payments as the South Sea do and which am confident many will do 'ere the year is past. For they [have] not strength to grind off their crops. How any could write Gold Coast slaves declined in value I know not. As there never was the like demand before we much approve of your *Affrican*s voyage. She is big enough for the trade. And you'l see the small vessels make the best voyages which observe the Day's[283] fall into of late. The *Aurora* is a fine vessel & bigg enough. So is the *Mercury*[284] & could wish the *Aurora* in the Gold Coast trade if we took a share in her. But that presume will be resolved 'ere this reaches you. Beef is worth 40/ but will be up 'ere long. A good cargo of that commodity with good butter, herrings & some pork may depend will come to a good market. But meddle not with any dry goods on any account nor with any soap the country being full. Flour is at 23/5 to 29/. May fetch that price all the year if not overdone. The *Swift* observe is fitting the old voyage, tho' Mr Harding seem'd not fully resolv'd wether or no he would send her to Guinea. Pratter assures us whilst they can by supplyed by private traders, they'l never import themselves that are apt to think there's more fear than danger of loosing that branch.

[12] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 3 May 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

We refer you to the preceding copy of 19th ultimo we sent via New England. This God willing you'l recive per the *Deal Castle* a single ship & goes an expres to advise the death of [illegible] but not a merchant man suffer'd to stir tho above 30 sail loaden for England which is a vast loss to the merchants not only that the first market for sugars must be lost but at a perfect stagnation to trade here in general though we are assured by the last ship from England that the design of the Spaniards invading us was entirely at an end and the reinforcement of our English men of war entirely laid aside.[285]

The *Lyon* we hope will be loaden in 14 days and may expect her with the first ships. Yesterday came in in the *Pennsylvania Merchant* to our address from Mr Tho[mas] Willing[286] & from whom received invoice & bill of loading for 101 barrels of flour shipt on her on your account which will dispose of to the best advantage price 30 @ 35/ brown bread 30 @ 32/6 middling 32 @ 35 staves £16 in beef on arrival 2/ fell to 45/ herrings 30/ Madeira wine £20 @ 22. Castile soap will rise to 9 per cent. All the parcel between you and Mr Harding is by us and will answer the keeping candles 7½ expect them soon to rise. Most of them by the pink are unsold. *Taylor*'s

283 James Day managed fifty-six slaving voyages from Bristol between 1711 and 1742. Ibid., p. 29.

284 The *Mercury*, Joseph Pritchard master, James Laroche and Isaac Hobhouse owners, left Bristol on 30 Sept. 1728, embarked 348 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 279 slaves at Kingston, Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 8 Nov. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 170; Voyage ID 16530 in www.slavevoyages.org.

285 A reference to the Anglo-Spanish war of 1727-9. Hostilities effectively ended with a truce in February 1728.

286 A Philadelphia merchant. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 118.

butter would fetch 12d @ 14d. Captain Bird in the *Roebuck* arrived two days pass'd with 230 odd Angolas, buried but two.[287] They'l sell at a very good price being much wanted at South Keys.[288] The *Content* got down at Barbados with 320 slaves.[289] The *Freke*[290] was daily expected & believe will likewise sell them there which should be the more sorry for as we might be able to make a pleasing account to the *Freke*'s [torn page] merchandise on the *Taylor* Pink £192 1s. 5d. and on the *Levant*[291] £238 16s. 3½d. on both which ships please to insure our interest likewise insure £200 on *Lyon* on same account.

Shall now reply to both your favours of 22nd January & 14th February & must condole with you on the loss of the *Leghorne* which happened very unfortunately to us as well as the unhappy people concern'd in her without insuring their interest for we are very certain no ships cargo in Jamaica was better purchas'd the last year nor sugars of a more kindly nature which would have added to the credit of our house. Misfortune of this sort as of others must be submitted to.

We have writ Mr James Laroache & hope to his content but they can't complain for want of advice on the *Leghorn* & leave it to yourself to satisfy them for the insurance on the *Cato*; tho' we are sure they had been pleased if the loss had not happened their sugars being very well purchas'd & of an excellent sort. We know not how it happen'd that we should advise & not ship it; was the first and hope will be the last ship to get lost. We are glad to see sugars hold up & shall observe what you write us to mark it in conformity to which we have shipt you on the *Tryton*. There will be no better sugars than yours & the indigo is very good & cost 3 shillings. We propose you 20 hogsheads of good rum in the *Lyon* which by the advice of 14th February will make a good return @ 20d per gallon.

We are oblidged for your procuring the friendship of Messrs Chamberlain & Co.[292] though their ship does not come here. Their slaves would doubtless have fetch'd upwards of £24 per head. Martin should be ashamed of what he says of [blank] he never disown'd his promises here of 50 hogsheads. It makes no matter but he may depend on our kind remembrance. We shall gladly be interested in the *Cato* or any other ship you think proper [torn page] Jamaica there in all probability no market in America can be so good for Negroes, & the *Mercury* if does well on the coast can't miss of a good sale here. Observe by the last letter of 29 October was come to your hands & that there was a pretty good advance on sugars. Cotton a drug & low &

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287 The *Roebuck*, Japhet Bird master, Abell Grant and Henry Lloyd owners, left Bristol on 11 Sept. 1728, embarked 287 imputed slaves in Africa, delivered 230 slaves to Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 172; Voyage ID 16537 in www.slavevoyages.org.

288 i.e. the Florida Keys.

289 The *Content*, Charles Adlam, master, Thomas Chamberlayne, William Makewn, Walter Rowles and Edward Freemantle owners, left Bristol on 9 Sept. 1728, embarked 400 imputed slaves in Africa, delivered 320 imputed slaves at Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 25 July 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 165; Voyage ID 16512 in www.slavevoyages.org.

290 The *Freke*, John Bartlett master, William and Thomas Freke owners, left Bristol on 31 July 1728, embarked 449 imputed slaves from Africa, disembarked 360 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Sept. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 166; Voyage ID 16517 in www.slavevoyages.org.

291 The *Levant*, William Oliver master, James Laroche owner, left Bristol in 1729, embarked 273 imputed slaves at Anomabu, disembarked 236 imputed slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 30 Sept. 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 185; Voyage ID 16577 in www.slavevoyages.org.

292 Thomas Chamberlayne was a Bristol shipowner who became a member of the SMV in 1716. Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port*, p. 210.

would continue so. Pimento fallen to 9/ logwood & fustick low cocoa but dull its worth here £14 so cannot answer. We wish for your sake as well as our own that more of the Guinea men had come to Jamaica & we are persuaded the slaves we have sold produce more by 5s per head than they would have done in Barbados & we think the demand must continue & be still greater if the governor of the Panama[293] should be removed whose severity prevents the Spaniards on the Main[294] from buying notwithstanding they are under the greatest necessity for them & have a great deal of money by them. The South Sea Company would be a great cut on us. They can't soon be here & those ships now fitting & on voyages will stand a fine chance.

The accounts you do mention to be balanced shall particularly advise of in our next & are not in advance as we know of many are accounts depending. The letter mention'd to Phelps we passed sealed & to him. He's under Prator's[295] direction. If a peace goes to the Havanna if a war on freight home.

We have passed our bills on you & Onesiphorus Tyndall for two hundred pounds thereof payable to Captain Hugh Frazier sixty days after sight which please to honour & pass to the debt of the house.

[13] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, 8 June 1729, Bristol, Jefferies Collection, vol. 13

Your favour of 12th March & 2nd April we duly received & are much pleas'd the owners of the *Mediterranean* approve of the sales of her cargo & hope they will with the returns. I can't help of being opinion with you that it had been the gentleman's interest. Many ships from Africa had fallen down hither rather than to stop at Barbados for notwithstanding the list at foot of several Guinea men lately arrived the slaves in most of them are well sold, though the imbargo for two months[296] has been a great impediment as all export of [torn page] was put a stop to & which helps of the latter end of a cargo. As an owner of the *Freke* you'l see our transactions for those gentlemen & are not a little sorry we could not do better in the sales, yet the number of small ones consider'd, our neighbours have render'd much worse accounts, but when we come to relate the most uncommon & unfortunate accident that happened for ages past you'l be surprized & in our behalf concern'd for the loss.

On sale of the *Freke*'s Negroes the Jews[297] could not raise money & effects sufficient to make good the sum being too large. We therefore not to loose such an

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293 Between 1724 and 1730 the royal governor of Panama was Manuel de Alderete.

294 The Spanish Main referred to mainland central and south America.

295 i.e. Edward Pratter: see document no. 10.

296 The embargo on shipping from Jamaica instigated on 6 Apr. 1729 was lifted on 29 May 1729 owing to an agreement under the Treaty of Seville to maintain peace between Britain and Spain. Governor Hunter to the Duke of Newcastle, 6 Sept. 1729, no. 896 in Cecil Headlam and Arthur Percival Newton, eds., *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 36: 1728-1729* (London, 1937), p. 478.

297 Jamaica was an important centre for Portuguese (Sephardic) Jews in the eighteenth century. By 1720 18 per cent of Kingston's population was Jewish. By 1750 between 600 and 800 Jews lived in Jamaica out of a white population of 8,230. Stanley Mirvis, *The Jews of Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: A Testamentary History of a Diaspora in Transition* (New Haven, CT, 2020), pp. 57, 70; Nuala Zahedieh, 'Defying Mercantilism: Illicit trade, trust, and the Jamaican Sephardim, 1660-1730,' *Historical Journal*, 61, no. 1 (2018), pp. 77-102.

offer to hold sixteen hundred pounds concern in the voyage to South Keys,[298] eight hundred of which we ventured to concern the owners & to stand the chance of eight hundred more ourselves; nothing appeared with a better view of profit, which together with the foregoing reason induced us to it, having contracted with the Spaniard for one hundred & ten at a very good price, assuring us to help us soon off with the rest on arrival at the South Keys, so the Negroes were divided in two vessels as mentioned in the owners letters, & one of 'em the *Ruby* a sloop of Mr Duckinfields[299] well fitted. Just as they hoisted sale and on saluting [torn page] and got into the powder room & instantly blew her up whereby above sixty white men perished [torn page] one hundred & eighty Negroes not at [torn page] forty odd saved by the nearest calculation, five or six hundred pound loss will fall to the proportion of £1600. Now as we interested the owners so much for the sake of selling, we hope they'l consider us, & not lay the intire loss on us which will be very hard fate as we are satisfied they would not have refused so small a part in the adventure if they considered we had not three days provisions with the ship as embargo on which was very doubtful when two'd be taken of & many ships from Affrica daily expected that accordingly arrived & might have hurt us in our sales very much.

Your agreement & persuasion to them may be of service to us though confess at the same time we had no authority to concern 'em anywhere or any part. The rest of the Negroes are sailed in the scooner & in a mann'd sloop as mentioned to the owners. We keep nothing from you or them concerning the voyage & the last is represented just as it is.

The *Lyon*, *Virgin*,[300] *Tunbridge* & *Tryton* go in the fleet consisting of above fifty sale. The embargoe is on again in two days out of mere wantonness of our governor who is building forts & harasses us to death with martiall law.[301] The *Swift*, *Freke*, *Pennsylvania Merchant*, *Two Friends* & *Little Betty* will all be ready in six weeks, *Freke* & *Little Betty* sooner.

Inclosed is invoice of merchandise shipp'd you on the *Lyon* cost £290 10s. 6d. Molasses is not to be had as yet at your price & sometime hence it mayn't answer so well. Two coils of your largest shroud halsors we have put on board the *William*[302] Captain Phelps for the Havannah[303] promising to dispose of 'em for your account as he does for that consign'd him. Nothing better offer'd & would have put more of the shroud halsors but the ship was too full & other friends to oblige before you. We shall be well content. You favour us in the *Cato*. Negroes must hold up.

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298 i.e. the coral cay archipelago of the Florida Keys.

299 John Duckinfield managed 23 slave voyags from Bristol between 1714 and 1730. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, p. 29.

300 The *Virgin*, Hugh Frazer master, Edmund Saunders owner, left Bristol on 8 July 1728, embarked 317 imputed slaves at the Gold Coast, disembarked 262 or 274 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 26 Aug. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 175; Voyage ID 16545 in www.slavevoyages.org.

301 Robert Hunter, the governor of Jamaica between 1728 and 1734, made efforts to improve Jamaica's military defence while he was the island's governor. George Metcalf, *Royal Government and Political Conflict in Jamaica, 1729-1783* (London, 1965), p. 36.

302 The *William*, Thomas Barry master, William Jefferis owner, left Bristol on 14 Nov. 1728, embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves at an unknown destination. It is unknown whether the ship returned to Bristol. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 175; Voyage ID 16546 in www.slavevoyages.org.

303 i.e. Havana, Cuba.

The company's factors have bought about 150 for Vera Cruz & Havannah.[304] If they don't succeed the private traders will have the better chance. Angola's they prefer to Bite Negroes but Gold Coast & Widdaw if to be had. The *Berkley* arrived with 300 Negroes[305] ten days past. Great part are sold well. The *Mercury* was at Annamaboe 12 March with 170 Negroes in good health. Pritchard hoped to make 'em up 300 in six weeks so can as yet be hardly expected. Doubt not making a tolerable sale. Soap does not yet stir. We retail @ 80/ and 85/ candles @ 7d. Whatever ship you concern us in, we entirely approve of setting aside a view of interest to ourselves. We really believe this will be the best market for Negroes in the West Indies, & may be assured of a load of sugars for any ship that falls down here any time this year.

As to Gwinnetts affairs we wait your answer whether the asignees will indemnify us if we remit & should be afterwards sued & they recover. We will ship on your account per the *Swift* Robert Parkhouse master for Bristoll one hundred & fifty pounds price of goods is what offers.

Ships arrived from Affrica since the 6th April
Falcon of London Angola with 230 slaves[306]
Roebuck of Bristol ditto with 230[307]
Freke of Bristol Bite 360[308]
Italian London Angola 520[309]
Judith London ditto 176[310]
John and Sarah Bristol Gold Coast 329[311]

[14] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Hobhouse & Tyndall, Bristol, 18 July 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

Inclos'd is invoice & bill of lading for a cask and a barrel of tortoiseshell shipt on

304 These were two of the Spanish American ports supplied by the South Sea Company. Between 1731 and 1733 Havana was supplied by twenty company ships carrying 1,832 slaves but Vera Cruz was a less important destination, accounting for five ships and 334 slaves. Palmer, *Human Cargoes*, p. 78.

305 The *Berkley*, John Hale master, John Duckinfield and Henry Lloyd owners, left Bristol on 1 Oct. 1728, embarked 375 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 300 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 30 Sept. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 163; Voyage ID 16507 in www.slavevoyages.org.

306 Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

307 The *Roebuck*, Japhet or Jasper Bird master, Abell Grant & Co. owners, left Bristol on 3 Aug. 1728, loaded slaves in Africa, disembarked 230 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 172. Another source states that an imputed 272 slaves were embarked in Africa: voyage ID 16537 in www.slavevoyages.org.

308 The *Freke Gally*, John Bartlett master, William Freke & Co. owners, left Bristol on 2 Aug. 1727, loaded slaves in Africa, delivered 360 to Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Sept. 1729. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 166. Another source states that the ship embarked 425 imputed slaves in Africa. Voyage ID 16517 in www.slavevoyages.org.

309 The *Italian*, William Clinch master, Humphry Morice owner, left London on 28 June 1728, embarked 602 imputed slaves in Africa, delivered 147 imputed slaves to Kingston and 353 imputed slaves at Portobello, and returned to London on 26 March 1730. Voyage ID 76615 in www.slavevoyages.org.

310 The *Judith*, Anthony Overstall and Anthony Moses Smith, masters, left London on 20 July 1728, embarked 224 imputed slaves mainly at Anomabu, disembarked 219 imputed slaves mainly at Jamaica, and returned to London on 31 Aug. 1729. Voyage ID 76559, ibid.

311 The *John and Sarah*, John Wilson master, John Wilson, John, Sarah, Charles and Christopher Scandrett owners, left Bristol in 1729, embarked 411 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 329 slaves in Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 30 May 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 184; Voyage ID 16574 in www.alavevoyages.org.

board the *Swift* Robert Parkhouse master for Bristoll on account of Tyndall Assheton & Jones which we desire you to take & sell for the most it will fetch & if the London market sho'd be better it is to be sold there without any further charge on the same terms the Bristoll ships take in for goods for the Jews & when in cash please to give our account credit as likewise for all small bills on Messrs. Wm Jefferis & Co. owners of *Two Friends* for £4 10s. 4d sterling being so much we have overshipt them.

We are well content with our concern in the *Cato* but wish she had proceeded for Angola are afraid she is too bigg for Old Calabar, by reason she will be so long purchasing her Cargoe. We this day received a letter from Mr Harding mentioning his intention of sending the *Swift* to Africa on her return to Bristoll. As he is our very good friend we would willingly be concerned a part with him & we will by the first opportunity be shipping you that you may be in cash to pay for our part. Last night arrived the *Charming Betty* but can get no freight on her or the *Savoy* both under the direction of the Furnells. We are in great want of a ship to freight on. For want of it cannot advise the owners of the *Virgin* to ship further on her account nor the owners of the *Freke*. If the *Swift* proceeds to Guinea it is our opinion she is too big for Old Calabar.Wou'd do better at Angola. All the ships that went there this year have done well and made their purchase as cheap as at the Bite and the Negroes are liked by the traders to the Spanish Coast[312] better than the Bite so well as by the country here. The *Lyon* & *Levant* are certainly fine ships for the trade & would wish they were to be fitted for the Gold Coast, but this we submit to you & be content to hold a part in each or any other you think proper. At foot you've a list of Negroes imported since the 1st of January which are sold at good prices & still there is good demand, all the traders having success to South Seas[313] or Hispaniola. A ship with 350 Negroes of Morris's to Portobello.[314] If she succeeds as we believe she will we may expect a geater demand than ever for tho' the Portobello factors are arrived we find they dare not yet adventure over & tis generally thought they are come over to amuse the people in England without an intent to trade for without the King of Spain schedula they can't be admitted & that they haven't yet been able to obtain.

We hear Mr Hobhouse will send us a ship as he intimated in his last account at Bristoll that we may be able to remit which at present can't do, nor have any prospect to remit if she fails. The *Nassau* is expected but engaged long ago. Since our settling with Captain Good of the *Pennsylvania Merchant* we find have overshipt £6 11s 6d sterling & inclose your bill on Mr Richard Welling for the difference. The master's port charges without wages amount to £150 which is remitting extraordinary & poor Welling must submit. Mr Knight we hope will be satisfied with the dispatch of the *Little Betty*. We have shipped above £400 & have not received fifty for all we have sold of her cargo. We endeavour all that lies in our power to please everybody but many intervening accidents happen that cannot be foreseen & sometimes make what was designed will prove otherways as was the affair of the sloops being blown up which loss we expect must fall on ourselves though in honour as we did what we did entirely to serve the voyage & had put the sums down they were to be concern'd from the beginning we think should stand to this part of the loss & if we had an opportunity

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312 i.e. the Spanish American mainland.

313 An old term for the Pacific Ocean. In this context it referred to parts of the Pacific coast of Central America.

314 An active centre of the slave trade to Spanish America. The number of ships and slaves engaged in the slave trade to Porto Bello, 1715-38, are given in Palmer, *Human Cargoes*, p. 103.

of advising before the accident happened we doubt not but they would have approved of our conduct in that affair but as it happens we must submit to their favour & hope they continue that they don't stand to their part of the loss & that will be one way making us amends & the way that we would choose.

Having several ships to dispatch we hope you'l excuse our brevity & shall conclude with the addition of the price of goods. What ships are to sayle under in convoy & what ships and the number of slaves are arrived from the coast of Guinea since the 1st instant.[315]

Sugar 17/ to 30/ per cwt
Cotton 9d & pimento 10d
Ginger 13/1 Indigo 8d
Logwood or dying wood 45/
Pork 70/
Herrings 30/
Butter 1/
[illegible] 12d
Cheese 9/
Bottled ale & syder 12/6
Cask beer 20/ per ton
[illegible] Ozenbrigs if good 11d
Most sorts of dry goods a drugg except ironware nails especially 6d in demand

[15] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 20 July 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

This owns the receipt of 3rd & 13th May last observing the receipt of ours per *Speedwell* & *Phenix* & shall wait an opportunity to send out your large cordage to the other side if possible the certificate of the candles sent you sometime past which may be of use to recover the loss. The assortment of cordage writ for will do well but no more small the country being full, not 20 per cent taylor's butter yet at market. Furnell has four or five hundred firkins beef we hold up to 40/ doubt not to make 50/ if more don't come than we expect.

We know not how it happens our letter by the *Lark*[316] did not reach you. We advised you of the *Mediterranean* sayleing well with her & hope her owners are pleased as well as of the other ships to our house. Our endeavours ha'nt been wanting both in sales & returns & have made good the remittance on all Guinea Men save the *Virgin* which we would do at the time if freight was to be got. In all probability the demand for Negroes must continue every one that has gone to Cuba having sold.

We should be glad of the *Aurora*. Her slaves would soon sell & the ship meet quick despatch. We hope both *Levant* & *Lyon* will be in the trade & shall be glad to be interested in 'em both. They carry a great number of slaves & sayling ships especially the former. What part of the Coast we leave to you. One of 'em to the Gold Coast we should be pleased with. The *Cato* we think too large for Callabar, if she went to Angola might have had a better chance. Your bills on Murraigh you may be assured

315 The list of ships is omitted.

316 The *Lark*, Henry Parker master, James Day owner, left Bristol in 1729, embarked 237 imputed slaves at the Gold Coast, disembarked 190 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 11 March 1730. Voyage ID 16576, www.slavevoyages.org; Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 185.

will not be paid & may expect them soon to be returned protested. Shall endeavour to get an allowance on the piemento & we thank you for your care to recover the over remittance to Capt. Saunders & Co.

We refer you to other letters for further particulars.

[16] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 22 August 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

This day arrived the *Speedwell* per whom received letters from Captain Saunders and Captain Knights of 16 June. The last intimates the death of our partner which much surprises as not having a line from you; we hope you received our letters writing via Boston per *Deal Castle* to London that we know is arrived and answers to letters & directly to Bristol so that we can charge ourselves with no neglect of this sort & concluded ourselves by Papps are stifled.

The *Aurora* is arrived with 270 slaves; the worst cargoe of Bonny slaves have been seen this long time, which you may guess by the ship's touching at every place to windward, & at low limitations. She was a month from Barbados hither, which Captain Davis says was a great measure to import their slaves very much. We find everybody [unreadable] & sugars & indigo at 5/ but are destitute of advice; rum at 20d can't be amiss we propose about 10 or 15 puncheons on the *Mercury*. She'l sail under convoy of the *Mary Gally* which now on the careen and put up for the 2nd September. She returned from her convoy being very leaky.

Slaves will be in demand. Shepperd & *Betty* as a clear coast can't miss of a good purchase & will find a very good market here. We hope no hurricane this year after a very smart earthquake that put us in some fright, but thank God did little damage. Severall ships are unexpectedly arrived from the norward & from London, so no fear that the crop will be carried off 'ere the new one comes in. The *Dorothy* is arrived from Philadelphia goes for Bristol per whom shall advise some of our friends of remitting but as we expect a vessel from Mr Hobhouse shall wait the arrival of *Nassau* of the certainty of it that she man't[317] wait for a freight. Price of goods is what offers from beef 45/ pork 70/ herrings 35 butter 9d to 12d wine 20 flour 22/6 sugar 16/ to 28/ cotton [blank] rum 20 indigo 5.[318]

[17] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Richard Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 7 September 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

The *Speedwell* arrived sixteen days past *Nassau* but yesterday no letter by either that have the less to say. The *Dorothy* Robert Scott master sails for Bristol. I will ship on her at least four hundred pounds please to make three hundred pounds sterling insurance on her at & from hence to her port of discharge in Great Britain for bills on the one sett in favour of James Atkinson forty days sight for fifty pounds sterling & another set in favour of Joseph Maxwell Esquire for twenty five pounds sterling & a set in favour of Joseph Pritchard per one hundred pounds sixty days after sight which please to honour and pass to my debit. Inclosed is a list of sundrys which beg you'l

317 i.e. may not.

318 A list of ships' names and masters' surnames for voyages from Kingston to Bristol and London is omitted.

send me by the first ships seeing for houses to build for Caillards estate[319] & these things cost deare in shops. I'm extremely sorry to receive no letter from you on the occasion of my poor deceased partner & for my part shall be perfectly easy in your determination & woud wish you hold a share. I don't doubt but there will be many overtures from many hands but I rest myself easy in your friendship & shall hope to live to deserve it, though I can't help repenting that the loss of my partner is more than I've yet met with, 'tis a hard fate & unjust submit.

The people of Bristoll seem doubtfull of the Jamaica markett for slaves. I think the worst Cargo since I've seen here is the *Aurora* & they turn out at about £19 10 round & is the best sale I've been concerned in. They were in general either children or greyheaded. The ship will have good dispatch. She takes in sugars in two or three days & sails in twenty more. The master Davis seems an honest diligent man & I really impute the bad purchase to the ill time of slaving. I wish others mayn't meet worse luck. 'Tis wrong to order these country slaves to touch from place to place. They are much dejected & fall away when they go to sea again which is the case of Davis's Negroes. Richard had ill fortune to slave. On the other hand Smith's remedy will nick it. Not a ship left at Annamaboo[320] where the *Little Joseph*[321] left it who had made a prodigious voyage had not her cargo been damaged. Just now the *Hayman*[322] arrived with four hundred & forty slaves besides a good deal of wood & returned goods. What pity tis that had not sent the *Cato* or some other ship to Angola. These Negroes will find a good sale to the country & to the trade being still wanted at Cuba & Hispaniola I haven't time to enlarge but add a list of ships in this fleet.[323]

[18] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 13 October 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

Your favour of 3rd, 11th, 19th, 23rd & 29th July per Birch we duly received. That of the 3rd covers invoice of a parcel cordage cost sterling £170 10 6 freight to be paid as noted at foot £12 3 no bills lading came. We shall be careful to dispose thereof as per opportunity offers & are sufficiently supply'd at this time. The country is overstock'd with this commodity that it will be some time 'ere can find vent for it all. Shall be waiting a hatch to send over the large shroud halsors either to the Havana, Cartagena or Portobello. The flotilla[324] consisting of 24 large ships passed

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319 Peter Caillard was a wealthy Jamaican merchant-planter who died in 1728. He was a churchwarden in Kingston and had served three times in the Jamaica Assembly. https://www.aparcelofribbons.co.uk/tag/caillard/; Daniel Livesay, *Children of Uncertain Fortune: Mixed-Race Jamaicans in Britain and the Atlantic Family, 1733-1833* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2018), p. 75; Brooke N Newman, *A Dark Inheritance: Blood, Race, and Sex in Colonial Jamaica* (New Haven, CT, 2018), pp. 95, 115.

320 Anomabu on the Gold Coast.

321 The *Little Joseph*, Robert Bibbie master, Richard Farr & Co. owners, delivered 118 slaves to Kingston on 23 Aug. 1729 and returned to Bristol on 2 Jan. 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 185. Another source adds that the ship embarked 147 imputed slaves in Africa. Voyage ID 16578. www.slavevoyages.org.

322 The *Hayman*, Thomas Stretton master, Michael Becher & Co. owners, delivered 440 slaves to Kingston, Jamaica on 10 Sept. 1729 and returned to Bristol on 13 Mar. 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 182. Another source states that 386 imputed slaves embarked in West Central Africa. Voyage ID 16623. www.slavevoyages.org.

323 This list is omitted here.

324 A Spanish fleet.

the Windward Passage[325] twenty days ago. They may be in want of this sort. Observe you are destitute of news of Jamaica fleet so of sugars, but the Spanish Town factor arriving yesterday from London in six weeks brings advice he met severall in the channel which is no small comfort to us. There's not that great quantity of sugar made here we imagin'd about 20,000 hogsheads ship't for England as per list. I believe there may be 4 or 5 thousand hogsheads on the island which will soon be gone there being vast demand. Many orders to purchase on bills @ 35 per cent.

Wheeler's Pink have an account was launched about a month past. Don't expect her in less than two months more. You may be assured of our utmost endeavour to load her for Bristol without sending her elsewhere. We are glad you have ordered a vessel to Angola. The *Hayman* met with good success. We fear that good fortune will not attend the Bite men, there being too many gone there. You don't mention anything about the South Sea Company whether they intend to purchase or to send out vessels for slaves. By what we learn, they'l soon obtain schadulas from the King and will want a great number slaves unless they supply themselves. There has not been 200 slaves sold on the Spanish coast these three years past, that this demand must be great whenever the trade opens. They prefer Angolas to Callibars but Pappaws before any. Will not indigo do well @ 2/9 to 3/ if good?

The *Aurora* will be loaden in six or eight days. She'l carry about 150 hogsheads. Have put 250 bags ginger in her. She is a fine vessel for the trade, tho' unfortunate this voyage in slaving & indeed the slaves were vastly worse for touching at the islands, being of a country that when once ejected, don't easily recover again.

The *Lyon* & the *Levant* would make fine Guinea men & would be glad to hold a share in them, if you approve thereof. We wrote before that we're content with a share of the *Cato* or any other you should interest us in. Mr Elbridge[326] & Mr Knights are fully writt to some time ago, & hope to their content, but Mr Elbridge is not to be satisfied unless we make good every bad debt. We can't tell that we've been short in remitting; the 6/8[327] of all our Guinea men is made good with what we have advised & are now shipping, save the *Mercury* the *Aurora* will near carry the 6/8 herself. Out of these two ships we haven't received 150 hogsheads sugar nor the value in any specie so you may think we are hard put to it & could wish you were sensible whether others were not more wanting in this particular. We shall endeavour to close every little that's depending as soon as possible.

Halden's Negroes we haven't sold. Could not get £30 for. Sent him to season a tryall but as the cap[tain] has a mind to be rid of him we will send that value in the *Aurora* tho' its more than the fellows worth. We see Mr Hart ships largely to Loyd. We had been glad never to have received a consignment from him, commoditys that were valuable & vendible always goeing to another house. We've made up this account to prevent noise, well knowing he was never our real friend. Mr Turton complains, it's true, but all the consignments made us this year & half past did not exceed £60 or £70 this country money nor are we yet in advance for that remittance. The nails per *Sea Flower* are not sold & he'll expect remittance per her. Either we must sell people's

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325 A strait in the Caribbean Sea between Cuba and Hispaniola connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the Caribbean Sea.

326 Thomas Elbridge, a Bristol sugar importer who died 11 Sept. 1737 aged 64. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, pp. 143-4; Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War*, pp. 91, 96.

327 It was common in the 1720s for 6/8 of the net proceeds to be returned with the ship to Bristol. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 139.

goods at a low rate or advance for them, to do which we require an immense fund. We'll do the best we can and endeavour to regain his favour.

We are not so fond of taking Negroes to our own account as to others. The largest of our venture was with the *Freke*'s cargo which doubt not but the owners would a stood too if it so happened that we could have advised 'ere the accident fell out by which we shall [lose] £500 or £600 unless they take a part off our hands.

Provisions don't rise here according to the cost and scarcity in Ireland; we are selling the *Sea Flower*'s beef @ 45/ butter 7½, but Callwell's house served you most basely in the [damaged] not one bottle merchantable, though immediately took it out & placed it in a cool cellar. Was it good would readily fetch 30/ per dozen.

I've lately drank very good of their shipping, but it's to others they've a better regard to than to your interest. Next week shall begin on Captain Vin. He'll not be long in loading & make you a good freight. We wish we had known anything of her before the *Dorothy* came in. We refer you to a particular letter concerning the partnership.

Beef 45/
Pork 70/
Butter 7d
Candles 8d
Cashel soap 60/
Herrings 40/
Madeira wine £20
Dry goods a drugg no sort wanted
Sugar 15/ to 26/ refined in the island
Rum 20d
Indigo 2/9
Pimento 11d
Cotton 9d

[19] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 25 October 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

The *Aurora* Captain Davis will sail with the *Seafare* Man of War Captain Law in about eight days per whom have shipt four tierces indigo on account Tyndall Assheton & Jones for which please to insure one hundred & fifty pounds sterling.

The great number of chance ships that have come this year have made sugars scarce & they are advanced 2s 6d per cwt per the account of the rise in England, many persons having orders to purchase with bills of exchange which is the reason the *Aurora* have stayed than the ships that arrived before her. We hope to dispatch the *Sea Flower* in six weeks after, but as for the *Dorothy* am afraid will be some time in Jamaica & Hayman have three Guinea ships here & we believe the first of them will not sail before Christmas. We hope our friends will be well pleased we made our chief remittances before this time. There is not above £500 due on all the Guinea Ships we have had this year when we have complyd with all our advises & I hope to the satisfaction of our employers. Most of the other produce of the island shipt. Little pimento made & no trade to the bay[328] so that no logwood at market. Indigo if good

328 i.e. Bay of Honduras.

worth 3/. A sloop lately returned imported about 30000 cwt pretty good. All sort of provisions except beef & pork a drug and which bears but an indifferent price vizt. beef 40/ to 45/ pork 65/ to 70/. All sorts of dry goods a drug. Here have been such quantities of flour imported this year it's fallen to 20/ per barrel & no prospect of rising till schedules come over which are dayly expected, we having certain advice from London that the indult is settled @ twelve and half per cent orders sent to deliver the effects & that the South Sea Company has greater privilege than they had before. But Mr Pratter assures us we have nothing to fear from the South Sea Company engrossing the Africa trade, that by his letters they are more inclinable to contract with merchants to comply with their asiento contract than to purchase Negroes on the coast. How that will be we must leave to time but we hope our friends may have as good interest to contract as others, which are the reasons to be ready for many times it is possible we may have a more perfect particular account of things here than they are mentioned with you. We wish you good success in all your undertakings.

[20] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 3 November 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

This day arrived the *Matilda* brott us your favours of 19th and 28th August with copy of 11th July & observe the loss on the *Freake*s slaves falls on ourselves to which we submitt, but the reason given them of so doing will be sufficient not to incur an additional loss of their displeasure. It's no little pleasure to find all our Jamaica ships safe arrived in Bristol except the dull *Swift Tryton* whom Gythens left well in Cork. So much sugars coming home at once may glut here & not find that good sale as if they had dropt in one after another but be assured here's not the quantity made where we all believed the best calculation has been sent you that can be collected. Pimento won't do @ 11d. the present market, nor cotton @ 9d. Indigo @ 2/10 seems to be the surest return & have lower'd to that price with much difficulty & accordingly shipt on the *Aurora* Captain Davis who carries home his full six eights & is more than many have or will do this year. The indigoe is good [illegible] to green that there will be a little loss in weight but you'l find no better return as are pretty sure 'twill fetch 2/8 in London. Are sorry the Fisher's affair is not yet determined which has doubtless given you much trouble. Shall ship of your cordage when opportunity arises. The *Levant* are glad are shipping for the coast.

As you seem to intimate, the *Lyon* will [sail] very soon. They are both very good ships for the trade & think the *Lyon* very compleat. She sails will carry a great deal of goods.

We hear the *Union* belonging to the Swymmers[329] are fallen into the Guinea trade. They formerly professed much friendship to our house but never had occasion to make use of us. The *Aurora* owners can't be displeased with us. If don't mistake one of the Swimmers & Fitzherbert are concern'd in her. If anyone sells out will readily hold a share. Davis seems a clever fellow though has met with ill luck this voyage. She must notwithstanding get you money all her load in a manner being in such low priced sugars you write for. She sails tomorrow under convoy of the *Sea Fare*,

329 William Swymmer was master SMV 1717 and a shipowner. Henry Swymmer (d. Sept. 1732) was sheriff 1713 mayor 1722 master SMV 1718 and a shipowner. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, pp. 143-4.

Captain Laws a single ship the *Speedwell* & *Nassau* they say will be ready in a week. The *James* a snow of London Captain Lyell will go at the same time. The *Sea Flower* Captain Vin & *Dorothy* are now on our hands. Its to no purpose to keep them both loading together, & are resolv'd to push away Vin as soon as possible. He may be ready in a month if weather permits & will make you a good freight. You must excuse us to Willing. His ship carrys 200 hogsheads & she must waite some time longer.

Your pink[330] was launcht @ Boston. Don't expect her till December so that she'll be an early ship in the Spring before then you can't expect him. You say nothing of the South Sea Company whether they fitt out for Africa. You should be cautious & inquisitive whether they don't contract with merchants for slaves. Doubt not your interest will intitle you to a share, if anything of that kind offers.

The *Brigit*[331] is at last arrived with 280 Angolas. The *Sheppard* & *Betty* don't appear. Gold Coast slaves will be in much demand.[332] We don't know of any more than two ships on the coast. It's well if Bite trade is not overdone. No news of the [torn page] Captain Wilson must sail before the *Greyhound*. Maddox & Wilson going in as he came out. It is now 16 weeks ago he may be stopped to windward, if so the *Greyhound* may be soon expected but do assure you the owners of *Aurora* suffer much by touching from place to place. There's not two thirds of his cargo now living that had he been one month longer it would have proved a miserable account. The Bristoll men will make a poor hand of it. All dry goods a glut & nothing wanted & they must waite for new sugars; there's 4 casks indigoe on board the *Aurora* the old house account. Please do dispose thereof to best advantage. Ship's sailing a week hence shall then further enlarge.

[21] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Tyndall & Hobhouse, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 16 November 1729, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

This day arrived the *Rappahannah*, brought us your favour of 10th September. We expected sugar to fall on arrival of so many ships. They will bear a price & must certainly be worthwhile to keep till its almost time new sugars come to your market. What can Smith mean not to advise you when he was in Cork where Gythens left them some letters intimating she was at twenty guineas. It frequently happens that sugars are not always to be purchased at the same rate unless everything we sold was specie, which do assure you is seldom our case. Hope on the whole our remittances will be answerable to our neighbours. May be assured shall duly respect your orders. In our purchasing on your account the indigo you sold at 2s. 8d. is a good return, & are sure both that commodity & the sugars kept for you on the *Tryton* will answer our hopes, but for God sake never send such a one again which you are the greatest

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330 This type of small ship was usually square-rigged with a narrow stern.

331 The *Bridget*, William Clark master, Henry Dampier & Co. owners, left Bristol on 19 Oct. 1728, delivered 286 slaves to Kingston on 24 Oct. 1729 and returned to Bristol on 15 Apr. 1730. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 1*, p. 178. Voyage ID 16554 in www.slavevoyages.org adds James Day as an owner, West Central Africa as the provenance source for the slaves, and estimates that 313 imputed slaves were embarked.

332 The Gold Coast was a dominant supply region of slaves for Jamaica in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 245; Trevor Burnard and Kenneth Morgan, 'The Dynamics of the Slave Market and Slave Purchasing Patterns in Jamaica, 1655-1788,' *WMQ*, 58, no. 1 (2001), p. 208.

sufferer by, not only on account of the risque & danger of a passage, but it's being long may be a means to lose the market. I wish the *Sea Flower* better fortune. She may be full in a month's time with a good freight. You'l have little ginger till next year. Three tons nicharago will go on the *Sea Flower* is all at market.

We thank you for you're your consignment for our behalf on the *Susannah* & we wish you would take into consideration that after a Bite man has try'd the Windward Islands that the slaves droop after it, & are not in that good plight as when they goe direct, which often is a credit to some houses that we can't possibly obtain. Be assured will endeavour to follow orders if possible & make as good sales & returns as is in our power. Few in Bristol incline to Angola. They are slave[s] much preferable to the Spaniard than a Callibar & what the factors chuse to buy when no Gold Coast offers.[333]

The *Betty* & Sheppard stay long. I wish no accident attends them, which brings us to acquaint you of the bad whether the July fleet mett with, & in which we have too many ships vizt. *Freake* & *Swift Pennsylvania Merchant Two Friends* & *Little Betty*. The last we have an account is lost on the hogstys,[334] no man on board nor any signs of any. The ship was known by some papers which a Carolina sloop this day brings account of. We fear there is more loss especially the *Freke* which is an old creaky vessel. The master of her was cautious & cared not to load her too deep. She has near £5,000 on her for the owner's account. The private trade continues successfully to Cuba & Hispaniola, besides there's an indult at Rio de Hacha[335] for 500 slaves. Under the cover of it 1,000 will be sold. The factors are well received at Porto Bello where the Spaniards dayly expect schedula's but till then they don't suffer the money to be carried off, indulging the company no farther than to sell at present. You best know when schedula's are granted & what shipps they fit for Guinea, without which our factors must buy a great many Negroes more than what will imported than what we yet know of.

Though flour is low & have sold a great deal @ 17/6 yet the quantity being chiefly gone, we bought up the rest or most of it @ 18/ & are resolved not to sell under 26/ having some of Mr Hardings by us that per the *Swift* induced us to it in order to make a better markett. Send no dry good[s] of any kind no more cordage & little provisions till further advise, too many are coming, but please to take a notice if there's two or three month's chance that no Bristol man comes here, may depend a small cargo of ale, beer cyder flour beef butter some parcells but better than that of the Flowers, some white wine in casks, pease oatmeal which you best can calculate as can be had.

We say when there's that vacancy of time which seldom happens. We shan't farther add but to tell you shall endeavour to persuade Davies to go to sea tomorrow & stay no longer for convoy, our new commodore disappointing us two or three times.

Please to acquaint Mr Charles Jones I received his letter but haven't time to answer it this day, which will do tomorrow if the ships don't sail.

Ships in the fleet

The *James* Captain Tutnell for London

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333 Angola and the Gold Coast were the main African provenance areas for slaves taken on South Sea Company voyages to Spanish America between 1714 and 1738. In that period, they accounted for 75 of the 134 ships recorded in that trade. Palmer, *Human Cargoes*, p. 103.

334 Hogsty Bay, St Ann parish, Jamaica.

335 i.e. Riohacha, Colombia.

Granada Gibson ditto
Globe Liall ditto
Lovely Betty Richardson ditto
Aurora Davis Bristol
Nassau in five or six days

[22] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Richard Assheton, Kingston, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 18 February 1730, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

Receiving no letter from you per *Crescent* have the less to write. I shall ship sixty hogsheads of sugar at least on the *Neptune* B. Wheeler master for Bristoll on whom please to ensure for me seven hundred pounds sterling and to remember my insurance on the *Dorothy*. I hope you've in this sent us a ship to load home or shall be in want of freight both for myself & the house.

You are advised at large in a general letter [illegible] to which refer & have only to add you have full power from me to interest me in any ship you think proper & that may seem an advantage to our house. I can supply you with any sum in England at the common interest on the least notice, nor do I propose to keep less than received in your hands to be applyd as you think proper. I shall be glad to hear a new purchase gives no umbrage. The true account of it is before sent that have no need to add.

Surely negros were never so much wanted, nor can that want be supply'd for two years to come which the Days[336] are very sensible of & push all they can. The general terms Prattor buys at is 30 @ 32 per head Gold Coast for men, women, boys & girls & bills to go by the ship & takes three fourths or more as in goodness, & had been a means to bring the planters to their stomachs[337] who now propose to buy on same terms & will we hope be a means tro reduce the price of sugars, though I fear the conjunction of Gale & Co. with Atkins will be some hindrance, the greatest part of factorage being in their hands & others must sell us dear or lose their business. I shal be much [obliged if] you will order a friend in London to give us prices of goods, & your nephews likewise at Bristoll which will often be of great service. I received a letter from Henry Hobhouse.[338] I presume it [cannot read] inclosing a newspaper at whose writing am surprizd to the best of my rembrance being very young to whom I pay my best respects.

336 i.e. James and Peter Day: see documents nos 6 and 11
337 i.e. upset the planters.
338 Nephew of Isaac Hobhouse, shipowner, warden SMV 1749, d. 18 May 1773. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, pp. 186, 189.

[23] South Ayrshire Archives, Robert Hamilton,[339] Cork, to John Simpson, London, 23 May 1734, Robert Hamilton letterbook (1734-1740), Hamilton of Rozelle and Carcluie Papers

I arrived here the 19th current where I found your letter of the 17th with the enclosed which shall be deliver'd when it pleases God I get to Jamaica. During the few days I was at Bristol I had some opertunityes of seeing the chief of the traders in the Guinea way to whom I offered the service of our house. But as I was in a great measure a stranger to them I had not ashurance to press it much & by what pass'd in conversation I came to learn that their method in that place was to have security at home agreeable to the custom of their town for the remittances of all Negroe consignments in Jamaica.[340] This I understand is what they all insist on & as noe consignments of that kind can be obtain'd there without such security I could not think of such a proper application as to you & company, in whose friendship we have shared so largely.

This goes under cover to Mr Robert Rogers merchant in Bristol who in conjunction with Mr Calwell may effectuat what we aim at providing you & company will be so generous as to become security for our house who in the event of your doing it will maintain an everlasting resolution of being faithfull in all our engagements to men of such generosity & friendship. You'l therefore be so good on the receipt of this to make Mr Rogers an answer because that must determine his & Mr Calwell's applications.

Captain Herbert is now clear and as this is the last I shall write you till it pleases God I arrive at Jamaica I beg you to belive that I have a sincere sense of your & your nephew's civilityes while I was at London & that you will oblige me in making my dutyfull compliments to Mrs Sympson & her sister.

[24] Bristol Archives, acc. 44784/13, Thomas Shephard, Antigua, to Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, 12 June 1736, C. T. Jefferies Collection, volume 13

My last to you was of 30th March per Captain Phillips. I therein acquainted you of our market & the prospect of affairs at that time since which am not favoured with any from yourself.

I shall ship the proceeds of the cordage on your account per the *Ann* snow Captain Kennel as also of the glassware &c for the account of the owners of the *Post Boy* & send sales of said goods & give advice in due time. Our crop is almost all over but much shorter than expected & the weather is very dry. The markets are as much glutted as ever wth provisons, Madeira wine & dry Goods but Negroes has done very well. Here are two sales open now one from the Gold Coast belonging to Rhode Island the other are cargoes belonging to Liverpool. Our planters are oblig'd to

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339 Robert Hamilton (1698-1773). Son of Hugh Hamilton, a merchant of Ayr. He moved to Jamaica in the 1730s, married an heiress and widow and became a plantation owner there. John Anderson, *Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton; with Genealogical Memoirs of Several Branches of the Family* (Edinburgh, 1825), p. 242; 'Robert Hamilton of Bourtreehill,' https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146646567; Kenneth Morgan, *Jamaican material in the papers of Hamilton of Rozelle and Carcluie, 1734-1873* (Wakefield, 2014), pp. 1-2.

340 This is the first known reference in business correspondence to English merchants arranging a security from an established English merchant to guarantee their payments for slave sales.

add to their number of slaves to pick & keep under the blast which has spread itself almost through the country.

I should have made further trial of the Bristol market ere this but for a ship which lay heavy on my hands bound for London but as I have now dispatcht her hope soon to have it in my power to advise of some sugars on my own.

Beef 23 to 25/ per score
Herrings 30/ per score
Butter 6d
Madeira wine 12/ per pipe
[damaged]
Sugar 16/ per cwt
[damaged]

[25] The National Archives, Kew, SP 36/40, part 2, Isaac Hobhouse, Bristol, to Thomas Coster,[341] 23 April 1737

Captain Edmund Saunders had this day (via London) letters from Jamaica wth account sales of the cargo of Negroes per *Rainbow*[342] which turn'd out to about £22 per head gross that currency which indeed is more than I expected they would have brought considering the condition & state they were carried in.

Duncummon & Co. writes they'll remit by the ship to the amount of £5,000 currency but they don't mention in what goods or specie neither do they say when the ship will depart only that it should be so soon as they can give her dispatch. The last letter bore date the 9th February when she had not began to load which is the substance of what came & which thought proper to advise for your governmt.

The effect of a French ship being taken last year & carried to the island of Antigua where she was with her cargo condemned begins now to be felt, for this day's post brought an unkindly piece of news of your snow *Manchester*[343] being taken by the French and carried to Guadeloupe where it's reported the ship & cargoe of Negroes are in like manner condemned & confiscated & is to be feared the French won't stop there but proceed to take all they can meet with, which (if so) must be fatal to trade & navigation. This snow *Manchester* belonged to Mr Henry Tongue & Co.[344] slav'd at the Gold Coast and had on board about 250 negroes with some gold bound to Jamaica.

I have nothing further to communicate at present.

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341 He owned copper and tin mining interests in Bristol and Cornwall and left a fortune of £40,000. He was Tory MP for Bristol between 1734 and 1739. Shirley Matthews, 'Coster, Thomas (1684-1739)' in Sedgwick, ed., *House of Commons, 1715-1754*, vol. 1, p. 583; Joan Day, 'Thomas Coster (1684-1739)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 13, p. 553.

342 The *Rainbow*, Jonathan Arding master, [Edmund Saunders & Co.] owners, delivered slaves to Jamaica and returned to Bristol on 25 June 1737. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, p. 76. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves at an unknown location. Voyage ID 16875 in www.slavevoyages.org.

343 The *Manchester*, John Watkins master, Henry Tonge & Co. owners, left Bristol on 21 May 1736, delivered slaves to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 8 Nov. 1737. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, p. 73. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 16866. www.slavevoyages.org.

344 Henry Tonge managed 42 Bristol slaving voyages between 1730 and 1753. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 144.

[26] Gloucestershire Record Office, Joseph Pitman, Bonny, to Captain Richard Prankard,[345] 9 December 1738, Miscellaneous Correspondence of Richard Prankard, Parish Records of Charfield

Att my arrival in Bonney I had the pleasure to heare of your being gon well of the coast & I hope this will meet you in health at Bristol. I am now going to complaine of my hard fortune since the time I left you as to my first voyage I have no need to mention for doubtless you have heard of itt allready; att my arivel this second voyage after 11 weeks & odd days passage I mett here a saile of vessel & slaves very scarse & dear as all vessels that have sailed since I arrived here ended att 40 & 30 bars.[346] The King likewise have been very ill. Ever since I arrived that I have laine here 30 days and not opened trade & when I doe & fearing itt will be att a very high price soe I cannot expect to make but a small purtches. What is still worse the slaves on board all ships are very sickly. What gives me the most hope is that no vessel arrived here since me although we dayly expect them from Bristol & Liverpool unless stopt by imbargo. If so my voyage might turn out better than I can expect att this time. Pray give my servis to Mrs Reice Mr Straten & family Mrs Wigram & all friends

I have a very healthy ships company

[27] Bristol Archives, Benjamin A. King[347] and Robert Arbuthnot,[348] Antigua, to Isaac Hobhouse & Stephen Baugh, Bristol, 24 November 1740[349]

Your joynt letter dated September 2 with the duplicates Inclosing certificate for Griffith's register are come to hand and as you have orderd the *Queen Elizabeth*,[350] the ship he commands to call here with her slaves, & put the cargo into our hands, without limitation as to the price & the remittance to be made in the growth of the island, we confess ourselves under great obligation for the favour, & shall do all in our power for your interest, provided the market shu'd be incouraging.

We have no objection to the bond you mention by way of security, as it is a beginning; but pray the favour of your next may be more favourable, 6/8ths remitted by the ship & the other 2/8ths in twelve months being somewhat too hard, considering the great & long credit given here, from which credit a better price is allways obtain'd, & must certainly turn to your advantage, the differences being £3 or £4 the Negro

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345 Richard Prankard was the captain of four Bristol slaving vessels between 1731 and 1737. www.slavevoyages.org.

346 Iron bars were a currency at Bonny associated with the slave trade. David Northrup, 'West Africans and the Atlantic, 1550-1800' in Philip D. Morgan and Sean Hawkins, eds., *The Black Experience and the Empire* (Oxford, 2004), p. 45.

347 Benjamin King (buried 4 July 1758) owned three plantations in Antigua where he was a member of the Council in 1738. He owned privateers that plundered St Bartholomew from the French in 1746. He was appointed judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Antigua on 27 May 1748. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. 2, pp. 125-7, vol. 3, p. 321.

348 He was appointed judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty in Antigua on 26 Apr. 1729. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 321.

349 Only a photocopy, not the original, of this document is available at the Bristol Archives.

350 The *Queen Elizabeth*, William Griffiths master replaced by John Harvey, Isaac Hobhouse & Stephen Baugh owners, left Bristol on 8 Mar. 1740, purchased slaves in Africa, sold them at Antigua and returned to Bristol on 21 July 1741. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, p. 114; voyage ID 17032 in www.slavevoyages.org

between long & short credit or no credit. We hope & pray it is a favour in your future affairs of this kind, you'd be content with 5/8ths & other 3/8ths in eighteen months, and which we shall allways be very punctual in; & shu'd it be in our power to remit the whole directly, you need not doubt our doing it, as we think it's a very unfair practice to keep other persons effects, to serve other ends as is often done.[351]

We shall observe what you order in regard to the half wages & coast commission,[352] shu'd we keep the vessell, & in every thing so long as we have the pleasure to serve you here, observe with due care your interest.

We would you could…be persuaded to direct your vessells to the Gold Coast or Widdaw,[353] as Negroes from those places, especially the latter, are in most esteem here & will always sell at good prices, when Bonny Negros (the men particularly) are held in much contempt, comparatively with the others, & indeed, such numbers being imported, & many of them hanging and drowning themselves, has taken many people from purchasing them, though it must be allow'd [that] the boys girls & women prove good slaves, but the men are wretched bad & scarce of any value, as one of us has sufficiently experienced & would not bring them into his estate on any consideration. We shall be much oblig'd for your future commands in Negros, provisions, Madeira wine, cordage, beans, oats or any things but dry goods, & whensoever favour'd therewith shall allways act & do, all in our power for you.

We think it our duty to hint to you that some of your vessels may fall in about the months of August & September when it rarely happens [that] a quantity of sugar & cotton can be procur'd to give dispatch (otherwise) if a remittance of rum to Ireland where it sells most commonly from 3 to 4/6 per gallon will not turn to account as the price here is no more than from 15 to 22. We imagine if a good price shu'd offer at such time for slaves, it would be better to make such a remittance than to let the vessel lye here on expence the year about, or send her further with her slaves to leeward to an uncertain market. Or (otherwise) in such case if a trip to Carolina for lumber, & to return here for the effects, would not be advantage, if a remittance for Ireland shu'd be dislik'd, if any of these particulars coincides with your opinions & have an Inclination to be constant in your trades this way, you'd do well to give us general instructions, & in every particular you may be well assur'd we shall at all times act with great zeal for your Interest.

[28] Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, Richard Hill, Bristol,[354] to David Godin,[355] London, 13 October 1743, Richard Hill letterbook (1743)

I am oblidged to you for your favour of the 11th inst[ant] w[hi]ch came to hand very

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351 A good illustration of the credit considerations that lay behind slave sales.

352 Captains commonly received a coast commission of £4 for every £104 of the net proceeds of the cargo sold at American markets. Crew members often received half wages after slave cargoes had been delivered for sale. C. M. MacInnes, *England and Slavery* (Bristol, 1934), pp. 46-9; Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 69, pp. 160-1.

353 i.e. Whydah (Ouidah) in the Bight of Benin.

354 A Charleston merchant visiting Bristol. Between 1736 and 1744 Hill and his partner John Guerard sold slaves from 11 voyages arriving at Charleston. W. Robert Higgins, 'Charles Town Merchants and Factors dealing in the external Negro Trade 1735-1775,' *SCHM*, 65, no. 4 (1964), p. 206.

355 He was the owner of three slaving voyages from London between 1735 and 1738 and one slaving voyage from Charleston in 1739. www.slavevoyages.org.

apropos just the very minute I had procured the annexed estimate & assortment of a Callabar cargo. This indeed is for 350 slaves. However I hope youl be able from it to form & proportion yours. I am very glad Captain Jefferis has accepted the favour of your employ. I hope he will answer the opinion I have conceived of him & under his conduct we may meet with success. It may be of as much importance to us to have a chief mate if possible equal in cappacity in case of mortality which now doubt youl endeavour for & recommend to him the same with regard to the rest of his officers to get the best that can be had, for upon this the success of a voyage principally depends.

With regard to the quota that I am to furnish for Hill & Guerard for this undertaking as far as £600 sterling. Please on the return of the post (for I believe I shall come back this day sennight) to inform me when this money will be wanted, whether it being paid you at different periods won't do provided they are not too long, for you must know that we have that sum or very near it on this side, but then it is not in cash, that is, it's mostly outstanding. However, I shall I think be able on your answer to give you orders for the whole sum before I go & therefore please to be as quick in your answer as possible and if a little time (at least for some part) can be given me without prejudice to the concern, please to let me have it & the money shall be punctually paid you.

My son William arrived here the 5th instant from Cork so that now I am hurrying away before the winter sets too far in but I must fix this Guinea affair before I go. I hope the small affairs I desired you to send me will appear next week. I observe brother Guerard has sent me some newspapers. Please to keep them.

[29] Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, Richard Hill, Bristol, to Captain William Jefferis, Bristol, 17 October 1743, Richard Hill letterbook (1743)

I have received your letter of the 15th instant. I observe that Mr Godin[356] & you have been to view several ships in the river & could see but one that was fit for our purpose which is a New England vessel about 180 tons burthen which it seems by your letter as if Mr Godin would treat for. I shall leave the affair intirely to his good management not doubting your best assistance therein. But is not this ship too large? The *Pearl*[357] used to bring 350 slaves & she never took more from me than 440 barrels rice & the ship *Hiscox* brought 500 & odd Angolas & carried but about 900 barrels rice so that I am afraid such a one as you describe by being so burthensome will not sail well, & will be much bigger than the cargo proposed for her will be able to purchase so as to fill her & there is no occasion to have have too much spare room. A ship about the *Pearl*'s size I think would do. However, as I said above I shall leave it to Mr Godin and I repeat it again to you to be exceeding carefull & cautious in the choice of your officers especially your two mates, surgeon & carpenter. If possible get men of character, sobriety & experience & in the full strength and prime of life. The grand point is to sett out well & to be well assisted. Will enable you to discharge your part with credit & honour to yourself & advantage to us, which while we can find, we shall prosecute & promote you as can as well can.

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356 i.e. David Godin: see document no. 28.

357 During the 1730s, the *Pearl* of Bristol made four slaving voyages to Charleston – in 1731, 1733, 1735 and 1737. www.slavevoyages.org. See also Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 2*, pp. 12, 38, 56, 74.

When please God you are at the coast & come to make your purchase be as careful curious as possible as the times will admitt of. If possible let your men & women be well limb'd able bodied & young; men boys & what we call women girls, the first between 14 & 18 years old, the other between 13 & 16, will do very well, & these you should prefer. I mean able men & women & men boys & women girls,[358] for the labour in Carolina is so severe[359] that an old slave is soon worn out & will for that reason yield but little. You may show this letter to Mr Godin which will save me the trouble of repeating the same things to him.

When you sett out on this affair let me entreat you to proceed in all things with calmness, caution & steadiness. Be carefull of your ship, of evey part of our interest. Manage everything with the greatest oeconomy, advance & establish your own reputation which will gain you the confidence & esteem of all all men but in particular that of your friend.

P.S. If you are quick you may write me once more, but when you direct, leave out the word honourable, that belongs only to Carolina. If the wind should be fair, I shall go down & away next Thursday or Fryday at farthest.

[30] Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, Richard Hill, Bristol, to William Jefferis, Bristol, 10 November 1743, Richard Hill letterbook (1743)

Some time past I told you that I had Hill & Guerard in company or partnership with Mr David Godin in a snow which is to be fitted out for the Bite & had engaged that we should be concerned 3/8 parts in the same and upon my informing you that a sum of £600 sterling would soon be wanted from us, you were so oblidging to assure me you would remit it to Mr Godin whenever he wanted if agreeable to the terms of payment he mentioned. You have already remitted them £200 & I desire you will furnish the remainder when he calls for it. This joynt concern with him will come to more money than the above sum & as I hope you have effects enough on this side the water when it all centres in your hands I do desire when you are in cash for our acco[un]ts that you will know of him what the balance of our acco[unt] current is and rermitt him the amount desiring him at same time to transmit it to us when so balanced and debit Hill & Guerard the whole.

Please to send us a good screw for packing of deer skins & me four tun of Severn coal[360] by first good conveyance.

I have taken the liberty to leave a packet with you which please ton keep it [until] you hear of my arrival. If I should miscarry then advise my brother Guerard[361] of it. They relate to our company & when he orders please to forward them, first keeping copies for fear they should also be lost.

When you talked to me on the Guinea trade, and were so kind to inform me you had become engaged for us to the owners of the *Jason*, I told you those affairs should run in the old channel as it regarded the share of commissions to be allowed you in consideration of the obligations you might enter into for us. As there has been an

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358 Eighteenth-century slave traders often referred to adolescent boys and girls as men-boys and women-girls.

359 A reference to rice cultivation in the swampy lowcountry of South Carolina.

360 Refers to the transportation of coal from Midlands coalfields via the River Severn to the Bristol Channel.

361 i.e. John Guerard: see document no. 28.

intermission for some years in that respect & if I am not mistaken a letter of ours to you a declaration made of a suspension of that agreement on the stopping of the Negro trade it will be necessary now to renew it in a clear & authentick manner.[362] Please therefore to let me declare to & assure you that Hill & Guerard will allow you one fourth part of the commissions arising from the sales & returns of all such Negroes as shall come consigned to them by you or that shall be consigned them through your interest or recommendation. The commissions so coming to you shall be remitted you commission free in a reasonable time after each account sales is balanced. There shall be no deduction from your part for bad debts that may happen to any of the sales nor shall you be accounted a partner in any respect. This last clause I think you inserted in the former payments.

Perhaps you may compare the above with the former terms on which we conducted our affairs together and you will observe some little variation in these new from the old ones. The present are limited & confined to the Guinea trade only. The former was more general & I believe took in the commissions of every transaction wherein you were interested or that arose from your influence or recommendation. But the reason youl easily conceive the alteration is owing to the violent change in our trade which except the slave trade is almost all run out of the factory channel. You are sensible yourself that we have been oblidged to give up the point as factors in the dry goods way. Afterr that we try'd as principals but with no better success. We have been oblidged to lay it down except in some few trifles. I could say much more on this head, but you know our present situation so well & the above reasons I hope will appear so just & rational that you will readily let the present terms be the basis of our future proceedings yet do us all the good offices you can.

We have taken a pretty large part in a Guineaman. If we meet with success we may engage in one more & the necessary funds for carrying it on will be chiefly rowl[363] through your hands. Besides this we shall do you all the good offices we can in Carolina that abstracted from the Guinea trade the good offices will be mutual & the commissions arising from them to remain with the transactors.

I can't think of anything more except what I shall never forget, the obligations I am under for such a constant series of friendship & good offices to me & mine to which I return you my heartyest & sincerest thanks and that Mrs Jefferis yourself & Miss may enjoy a constant long uninterrupted course of health & happiness.

Please remember the slates for Brother Guerard.

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362 South Carolina imposed higher duties on imported slaves after the Stono rebellion, a slave revolt in the colony in 1739. For the first fifteen months of the levy, South Carolinians paid £10 for every slave imported to the colony after which for three years a £100 tax was charged on each adult slave imported from Africa. The level of duties effectively stopped the slave trade to Charleston. The law expired in 1744. Paul Finkelman, 'Regulating the African Slave Trade,' *Civil War History*, 54, no. 4 (2008), p. 381.

363 Obsolete form of 'roll.'

[31] Bristol Archives, acc. 44785/9, Walter Lougher, Bristol, to Edward Southwell,[364] 7 March 1744, Southwell Papers, volume 9

I received your favour of your honours two letters, of the first & 2nd instant, which I communicated to the committee & others. I observe nothing could be done in the wine affair at present, as the Treasury were determined to no variation nor change in their bill. The merchants concerned in that branch of trade must wait with patience, in hopes of having the clauses they desire to be nserted in a new bill. It's nothing new for the Londoners to endeavour as often as they have opportunity to lay what hardships they can upon the traders in the outports, being desirous of having the whole trade of the nation centre with them. I think your observation is very just. The four London members ought not to overrule the one hundred chosen by the outports.

I hope the representation that you and the members of Liverpool shall lay before the lords of the Admiralty will incline them to order as soon as possible a sufficient number of ships of war to be stationed upon the coast of Africa to preserve that valuable trade to this nation. When the assurers are satisfied that the men of war are sent to protect the merchant ships the premiums of insurance will naturally fall to a moderate price, & give new life, & spirit, to people to prosecute the trade with vigour, which for a twelve months past has had but very few adventurers occasioned by assurance being so high, that the trade could not support it.

The difference between the trade of this town to Africa, before & since the war with France, are very great; the number for many years before were sixty sayl of ships and upwards upon an average yearly, and I think since only 5 small vessels have been sent. Our good friends the Dutch, as they are at peace, both with France and Spain, have much the advantage of us at present, in their trade to Africa & other parts, they carrying their cargoes to market at 40 per cent less expense than we do ours & consequently great profits must accrue to them. I believe the French & Spaniards suffer vastly in their trade, & very justly deserve it as they brought the matter upon themselves.

I have given proper notice to the merchants here that were sufferers in the year 1718.[365] I suppose they will take the necessary care about it. As for the deposit of money for the security of the duty of prize goods and the translations & copies of papers &c found on board any prizes, I take the former to be an order of the commissioners of the customs & the latter from the Commons, & only from their own authority, and if I am right, then upon proper application to His Majesty these grievances will be redressed.

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364 Edward Southwell, Jr (1705-1755) of Kingsweston, near Bristol, was an Anglo-Irish Whig politician who sat in the Parliament of Ireland from 1727 to 1755 and in the British House of Commons as MP for Bristol from 1739 to 1754. Shirley Matthews, 'Southwell, Edward (1705-55), of King's Weston, nr. Bristol, Glos.' in Sedgwick, ed., *House of Commons, 1715-1754*, vol. 2, pp. 431-2.

365 Refers to the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-20) when Spain opposed Britain, France, Austria and the Dutch Republic.

[32] The National Archives, Kew, CO 388/43, RIchard Henvill,[366] Bristol, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations,[367] 12 September 1744

Mr Mayor having received a letter dated the 15th June from your Secretary, desiring him to communicate it to the merchants to procure & lay before your Lordships a general state of the trade to Africa, & of the forts & settlements belonging to the Royall African Company, & the necessary charge of maintaining the same, did some time since deliver it to me as Master of the incorporated Society of Merchants,[368] desiring that I would procure an answer to be returned to your Lordships, and accordingly have called a Hall[369] to assist in an affair which is too difficult for myself to answer, who have referred it to a committee, who agree that the trade to Affrica is very valuable in its exports, as well as the life of the plantations, which I need not set forth here as your lordships know better than we can inform you, & all the arguments on that head. So we have only to inform you of the value of our trade to that coast from this place, which for the last eight years amounts to about forty sail of ships annually, which may be modestly computed one with the other at £4,000 each, a good part of which is of British growth & manufacture. The advantage of such an exportation, familys employed & service to the plantations we need not tell your lordships; And in answer to what you desire of the forts & settlements by the best accounts we can get, on enquiry of masters of ships that use that trade, we find that forts and settlements on the coast are necessary as marks of sovereignty & possession, under proper regulations, but that they are kept in a poor condition & of little or no service to the private trade, and that it's the opinion of most people that £20,000 per annum is an extravagant allowance to keep them in such repair only as they have lately been kept in, but would not if the money were properly imployed.

It's true the report of the company makes it otherwise, & that they have expended £17,000 per annum for many years past[370] in which report we are persuaded there is a great deal of art made use of to make out that sum. Besides large articles that cannot easily be inquired into, we take notice they have calculated almost all their charges as laid out on the coast for the sake of reducing it into sterling money at the rate of 50 per cent exchange, Whereas they make at least 100 per cent of all the goods they send out, exclusive of freight and Insurance which they charge.

They charge £1,000 per annum for ships & vessells attending their forts, though their ships are on their trade at the same time, & selling goods along the coast, & we apprehend not employed on purpose.

Their answer to Captains Strange, Windham, Gregory and Frogmore's letters make them all to be false & of no account, though by what we learn from persons well acquainted on the coast, their forts are in a worse condition than those captains have represented them, and it is to be hoped that when the parliament meets they'll take care that they shall be kept in better condition than they have been of late, but

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366 Master SMV 1743, d. 26 Apr. 1756. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, p. 18.

367 i.e. the Board of Trade.

368 The SMV was Bristol's most prestigious private merchant organisation. It still exists. Patrick McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol* (Bristol, 1975).

369 The SMV held its meetings at Merchants' Hall, Bristol.

370 Despite a government subsidy offered since 1730, the RAC had incurred a shortfall of nearly £17,000 annually between the end of 1729 and the end of 1741. Kenneth Morgan, ed., *The British Transatlantic Slave Trade. Volume 2. The Royal African Company* (London, 2003), p. xxix.

it has been proved at your Lordships Board and before the Honourable House of Commons, that men of war properly stationed and timely relieved are the best & most essentiall protection of the trade upon that coast, & we hope your Lordships will be of the same opinion and that ships of war will be stationed accordingly.

[33] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007502950, Sales of Negroes imported by the *Bristol Merchant,* Shuttleworth Neale master, from Bonny[371] on account of Richard Meyler & Co.,[372] owner of said snow, owners in Bristol, Kingston, 30 December 1747

Date	To whom sold	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Price	
October 16	Cash				1		30
19	Walker Buer Lodge		6			£40	240
21	Cash				1		35
23	Alexander McFarlane[373]	57	22	23	19	£33	3993
24	Cash			1	1	do	66
	Joseph Haden	2				£45	90
31	Cash			1			34
November 4	David Aboab Furtado	13				£43	559
	Cash		5			£38	190
	ditto			3		£33	99
5	ditto				1		35
	ditto at vendue[374]	5	1	3	7		196
14	John Maculoch	1	1	4	4	£35	350
18	Cash at vendue	2					26 17 6
December 1	John Maculoch	1	1		5	£32	224
2	Captain Charles Finlay (at vendue)	1					16 5
	John Maculoch	2	1	2			81 2 6

371 The *Bristol Merchant*, Richard Meyler & Co. owners, John Brown master replaced by Shuttleworth Neale, left Bristol on 3 March 1747, purchased 349 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 269 at Kingston. The vessel was then captured by the Spanish. Richardson, *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 7; Voyage ID 17170 in www.slavevoyages.org

372 Richard Meyler & Co. was a Bristol merchant firm mainly concerned in the trade with the West Indies between 1732 and 1767. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 26.

373 Alexander McFarlane (14 May 1705-24 Aug. 1755) was a major merchant in Kingston (1745-55). He owned 53 slaves in 1746 and had 6,607 acres in Jamaica in 1754. His inventory was valued at £74,535 4s. 1d. Ibid., p. 200.

374 An auction held at the end of a slave sale, intended to dispose of the captives least in demand.

3	John Wallace			1			27
	John Maculoch at vendue	2	1		1		122 5
7	Cash at vendue	1					16
	Ditto ditto	3	1	1	1		135 12 6
	Henry Ram ditto	1					18 15
16	Merchandize				2		50
	Counsellor Hill	1					43
		92	38	38	45		6677 17 6

Charges

To the import duty of 251 Negroes at 10/ per head & bond	£125 15
To provisions for the Negroes	22 2 6
To wherry hire	13 1 ½
To Cash paid here of a nurse for the sick Negroes	2 16 10 ½
To ditto paid for here of a House	3
To Charges on Negroes sold at publick outcry[375]	2 17 6
To the Doctors head money[376]	10 13
To Captain Neale for his coast commission on £5,466 4 7 ½	210 4 9½
To ditto for Men's wages & disbursements per receipt	719 7
To commission on £6,677 17 6 at 5 per cent	333 17 10 ½
Nett proceeds	£5,246 9 10

9 10

Kingston Jamaica 30 December 1747

Errors Excepted

Gordon & Brights[377]

By sundry charges on the sales	1,431 7 8
By amount of 109 hogsheads 2 tierces sugar 31 planks mahogany 21 8 1 14 fustick 7 casks pimento & 10 bags 8 pockets cotton ship'd on board the snow *Bristol Merchant* as per invoice	4,243 6 11 ¾
By Alexander MacFarlane's bill on Mark Davis[378] for 3600 sterling exchange at 140 per cent & commission 5 per cent	882
By cash paid hire of white men for working on board	2 18 9
By ditto paid for a protest & affidavit of the snows being taken	1 15 7 ½
By ditto paid William Austin for Negro hire	2 10

375 A 'cryer' publicly announced the time and location of a slave sale.

376 Surgeons on board slave ships could receive bonuses but also some privilege slaves, whom they sold for money.

377 Thomas Gordon, Henry Bright and Francis Bright, merchants and factors in Bristol and Jamaica. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 28.

378 A Bristol shipowner and merchant (c.1701-22 Aug. 1783) who operated privateers and was prominent in the sugar trade. He resided in Jamaica for many years before returning to Bristol c.1740. Ibid., p. 172.

By ditto paid Messrs Bayly & Co.[379] for a barrel of flower Captain Neal took up 1 10
By their bill on Henry Bright[380] remitted per the *Lenox* for £76 9 7 sterling exchange at 140 per cent & commission 5 per cent is currency 112 8 5 ¾
£6,677 17 0

Kingston Jamaica 18 August 1748
Errors excepted
Henry and Francis Bright[381]

[34] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509754, Francis Bright, Kingston, to Henry Bright, Bristol, 30 May 1748, Bright Family Papers

I wrote you the 12th instant by the *Plymouth* and *Drake* and sent a copy by the *Duke of Bedford*, who sailed the 26th instant with three good merchant ships for London after waiting three weeks with promise of a convoy through the passage, day after day, which convoy is now put off till 5 June. Some days past we have had constant rains which have been a hindrance to people I expected from the country to purchase slaves out of the *Polly*.[382] I have sold 56 men 11 women two men boys one woman girl five boys & one girl for £152. Should have disposed of many more had not so many vessels arrived from the same part of the coast about the same time vizt. the *Brooke*, Captain White with 275 Negroes[383] about six days before the *Polly* the *Antilope* Smith with 215[384] two days before a vessel belonging to Liverpool Captain Thompson two days after with near 300[385] the *Fanny* Sinclair the 28th instant with 170[386] and the

379 Zachary Bayly (d. 13 Oct. 1769) and Edward Foord, merchants in Jamaica. Bayly was a proprietor of an estate in St Mary's priah, Jamaica, and the uncle of the planter-historian Bryan Edwards. Bayly's inventory was valued at £160,639 5s. 1d. Ibid., pp. 217-18; Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2020), pp. 30-1.

380 Henry Bright (1715-77) managed 21 slaving voyages between 1749 and 1766. Ibid., p. 4. For his career, see Bright, *Tales of Opportunity*, pp. 31, 73-81, and Kenneth Morgan, 'Bright, Henry (1715-1777)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 7, pp. 619-20.

381 Francis Bright (1723-54) was a merchant, factor and brother of Henry Bright. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, pp. 36-43; Bright, *Tales of Opportunity*, pp. 32, 36-8.

382 The *Polly*, Samuel Rowles master, Thomas Power, Henry Bright, Richard Bright, Corsley Rogers, Francis Pardoe, Matthew Tyndall, W. Ames, owners, left Bristol on 10 Sept. 1747, intended to load 400 slaves but embarked 387 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 331 at Kingston and returned to Bristol on 11 Jan. 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 12; voyage ID 17187 in www.slavevoyages.org.

383 The *Brooke*, John White master, James Cowley owner, left Liverpool on 10 Jan. 1747, embarked 322 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 275 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 27 Nov. 1748. Voyage ID 27151 in www.slavevoyages.org.

384 The *Antelope*, Charles Smith master, Thomas Pennington owner, left Bristol on 10 Sept. 1747, embarked 262 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 215 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Oct. 1748. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 6; voyage ID 17168 in www.slavevoyages.org.

385 The *Pardoe*, Thomas Thompson master, left Liverpool on 10 July 1747, embarked 329 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 270 imputed slaves at Kingston and returned to Liverpool on 12 Dec. 1748. Voyage ID 90119 in www.slavevoyages.org.

386 The *Fanny*, John Sinclair master, John Plummer owner, left Bristol on 21 July 1747, embarked 191 imputed captives on the Gold Coast and delivered 169 slaves to Kingston (though this document gives 170). Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 9; voyage ID 17177 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Swan Kennedy is daily expected.[387] However, I hope to have neighbour's fare, and doubt not of making proper remittances. I am daily expecting some bills of exchange. These will make Mr Colquhoun remittances for the *Defiance* prize and all others we are deficient to by the *Plymouth*.

I promised you a list of remittances in my last and also an account of what advice was not complyed with but for want of time did not effect it, so now you have it. I shall take upon me (but without the direction of my partners) to answer as fully as possibly I can. Your letter dated 18 February to Alexander McFarlane Thomas Gordon & self I received the writings by the *Prince William* and duplicate by the *King David* which I shewed to Alexander McFarlane and whereby it appears you have purchased all the right David and William Thomas's heirs had to any interest interest here either personal or real, also a power of attorney to Alexander McFarlane Thomas Gordon and self which with the deeds of conveyance are proved. But as I formerly wrote you must not yet be recorded because as we have begun a suit in Chancery against Richard Smith. If these deeds were to be recorded he would find the property alter'd and so have an opportunity to evade putting in his answers to the bill and oblidge us to begin a new suit, which will not only be more expensive but also take more time to bring things into their proper channel, for we found nothing could be done by fair means with this gentleman.

Your desire that neither house nor lands may be sold without acquainting you shall be complied with though as there are judgments to the amount of £2,000 against the estate I don't know how you can propose to keep it. Pray think how these debts must be paid and that very soon or the Negroes & everything will be sold by venditions.[388] Besides I am sure in time of peace the possessions will not yield what they now will. Your reason for not selling is that as you can send things necessary to repair it on easiest terms it may be worth your while. That observation I think is of little force for I will presume to say I can buy everything these things are disposed of with little trouble, and I have a scheme come into my head that as salt hath for 18 months past been worth from 7/6 to 12/6 per bushel, & now is worth 12/6, that to buy a brig or snow that will carry 120 hogsheads sugar, and such a vessel I suppose may be bought for £600, load her in the hold with salt in bulk, between decks with hoops, which will not cost any considerable sum & send her here. She will make £1,000 freight home, and of course must get money. I don't pretend to call the above calculation just, but give the hint to you to improve on and execute the matter, if you approve of it, but don't let many people know it nor be concerned so as to take the management out of your hands. I am very easy how little provisions of Bristol goods we have, as here is great quantity of both & no prospect of a market, and would not have you solicit to have any ships consigned us with a small cargoe that we must procure a loading home, for I now am obliged to conclude.

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387 The *Swan*, Thomas Kennedy master, John Tonge owner, left Bristol on 10 Aug. 1747, intended to load 350 slaves but embarked 366 imputed slaves in West Central Africa, delivered 300 slaves at Kingston, and departed for Bristol on 26 Nov. 1748. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 13; voyage ID 17190 in www.slavevoyages.org.

388 i.e. sale contracts.

[35] The National Archives, Kew, CO 388/45, A List of Ships employ'd in the trade to Africa from the port of Bristol the year 1749

On the Gold Coast

	Number of slaves	Value of ships & cargoes
Tryton[389]	450	10,000
Antilope[390]	230	5,000
Juno[391]	250	5,700
Alexander[392]	450	8,500
Volunteer[393]	320	5,600
Molly[394]	230	5,200
Jamaica Packet[395]	360	7,000
Spy[396]	320	6,000
Swift[397]	280	5,200

389 The *Tryton*, Edward Boucher master, [John Tonge & Co. owners], left Bristol on 29 July 1748, loaded slaves on the Gold Coast, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 18 June or 22 July 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 24. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

390 The *Antelope*, Thomas Sanderson master, Thomas Pennington & Co. owners, left Bristol on 24 Dec. 1748, did not embark slaves and was captured by crew. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 16; voyage ID 17198 in www.slavevoyages.org.

391 The *Juno*, Allen Lane and Samuel Hort masters, left Bristol on 12 May 1749, intended to load 250 slaves on the Gold Coast, delivered captives to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol 26 Nov. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 31. Another source states that the ship embarked 183 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast and disembarked 162 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 17242 in www.slavevoyages.org.

392 The *Alexander*, David Duncomb master, Henry West owner, left Bristol on 21 July 1748, embarked 474 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 405 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 7 Oct. 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 15; voyage ID 17196 in www.slavevoyages.org.

393 The *Volunteer*, Thomas Robbins master, James Laroche owner, left Bristol on 1 Apr. 1748, embarked 256 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 210 at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 5 Aug. 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 25; voyage ID 17225 in www.slavevoyages.org.

394 The *Molly*, Roger Allen master, Martin French & Co. owners, left Bristol on 11 Sept. 1749, purchased slaves on the Gold Coast and delivered 230 imputed slaves to an unknown destination. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 32. Another source adds that the ship embarked 273 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast. Voyage ID 17246 in www.slavevoyages.org.

395 The *Jamaica Packet*, Thomas Elsworthy and James Sanders masters, Thomas Perkins owner, left Bristol on 22 July 1748, embarked 405 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 332 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 6 Dec. 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 18; voyage ID 17205 in www.slavevoyages.org.

396 The *Spy*, Charles Finlay master, embarked 273 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast and disembarked 236 imputed slaves at an unknown destination. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 23; voyage ID 17218 in www.slavevoyages.org.

397 The *Swift*, Matthew Combe and Abram Ketheless masters, left Bristol on 4 Nov. 1748, embarked 301 imputed slaves at Anomabu, disembarked 260 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 24 Mar. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 23; voyage ID 17220 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Two Brothers[398]	300	5,700
Baltimore[399]	280	5,500
Polly[400]	400	7,500
Fly[401]	220	4,600
Jason[402]	360	6,600
Silvia[403]	250	5,400
Sybilla[404]	180	3,400
Cornwall[405]	300	6,200
	5,180	103,100

For the Bight of Benin, Bonny & Calabar

	Number of slaves	Value of ships & cargoes

398 The *Two Brothers*, Richard Haskins master, Thomas Perkins & Co. owners, left Bristol on 4 Jan. 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 35. Another source states that the ship embarked 273 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 236 imputed slaves in the Danish West Indies, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1750. Voyage ID 17255 in www.slavevoyages.org.

399 The *Baltimore*, Charles Smith master, left Bristol on 29 Apr. 1749, bought slaves on the Gold Coast and returned to Bristol on 6 Mar. 1752. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 26. Another source states that the ship embarked 273 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast and disembarked 236 imputed slaves at an unknown destination. Voyage ID 17229 in www.slavevoyages.org.

400 The *Polly*, Samuel Rowles master, left Bristol on 21 Sept. 1749, purchased slaves on the Gold Coast, delivered 400 imputed slaves to an unknown destination, and returned to Bristol on 29 June 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 33. Another source adds that the ship embarked 387 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast and disembarked 331 imputed slaves at Kingston. Voyage ID 17187 in www.slavevoyages.org.

401 The *Fly*, Alexander Graham master, William Gordon & Co. owners, left Bristol on 14 Aug. 1749, purchased slaves on the Gold Coast, delivered slaves to Barbados and Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 29 June 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 28. Another source states that the ship embarked 244 imputed slaves at the Gold Coast and disembarked 200 imputed slaves at Kingston. Voyage ID 17203 in www.slavevoyages.org.

402 The *Jason*, Abraham Gally master, Michael Becher owner, left Bristol on 6 Oct. 1748, embarked 273 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 236 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 6 July 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 19; voyage ID 17207 in www.slavevoyages.org.

403 The *Sylvia*, Richard Jenkins master, Richard Farr & Co. owners, left Bristol on 21 Sept. 1749, purchased slaves on the Gold Coast, delivered slaves to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 June 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 35. Another source states that the ship embarked 273 imputed slaves at Anomabu and disembarked 236 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 17254 in www.slavevoyages.org.

404 The *Sybilla*, Richard Power master, [William Swymmer & Co. owners], left Bristol on 23 Jan. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 41. Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

405 The *Cornwall*, David Duncombe master, [James Laroche & Co. owners], left Bristol on 25 Jan. 1750, loaded slaves on the Gold Coast, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on either 21 Nov. 1751 or 15 Jan. 1752. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 37. Another source states that the ship left Bristol on 21 Jan. 1750, embarked an imputed 261 slaves in the Sierra Leone estuary and on the Gold Coast, and delivered an imputed 230 slaves at Jamaica. Voyage ID 17260 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Planter[406]	470	6,200
Indian Prince[407]	350	4,900
Success[408]	320	4,400
John & Martha[409]	430	5,700
King David[410]	350	5,000
Matilda[411]	320	4,400
Greyhound[412]	450	6,000
Charming Betty[413]	400	5,400

406 The *Planter*, Samuel Whyting master, Edward Charleton & Co. owners, left Bristol on 22 Dec. 1749 and returned there on 5 Jan. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 32. Another source adds that 276 imputed slaves embarked at Calabar and 209 imputed slaves disembarked in St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17247 in www.slavevoyages.org.

407 The *Indian Prince*, Rowland Rice master, Walter Lougher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 19 Mar. 1749, intended to load 350 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 7 June 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 30. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra and disembarked 209 imputed slaves in St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17240 in www.slavevoyages.org.

408 The *Success*, William Jefferies master, Thomas Easton & Co. owners, left Bristol on 23 Mar. 1749, intended to load 320 slaves for St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 7 June 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 34. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves at Calabar and disembarked 209 imputed slaves in St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17251 in www.slavevoyages.org.

409 The *John & Martha*, William Clutsam master, James Williams owner, left Bristol on 15 Dec. 1749, intended to load 430 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to Montserrat and 17 to Hampton, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 15 Jan. 1752. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 30. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra and disembarked 209 imputed slaves at Montserrat. Voyage ID 17241 in www.slavevoyages.org.

410 The *King David*, Edmund Holland and Hamilton Montgomery masters, Walter Lougher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 23 June 1749, intended to load 350 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 22 Sept. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 31. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves at Calabar and disembarked 209 imputed slaves at St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17243 in www.slavevoyages.org.

411 The *Matilda*, William Townsend master, Nathaniel Wraxall & Co. owners, left Bristol on 10 Oct. 1749, intended to load 320 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to South Carolina, and returned to Bristol on 15 Nov. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 32. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra and disembarked 209 imputed slaves at Charleston. Voyage ID 17245 in www.slavevoyages.org.

412 The *Greyhound*, Ambrose Voss/John Davies masters, Thomas Elsworthy and James Sanders owners, left Bristol on 20 Mar.1748, intended to load 400 slaves at Melimba, delivered them to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 19 June or 19 July 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 18. Another source states that the ship embarked 484 imputed slaves in West Central Africa (Malembo and Cabinda) and disembarked an imputed 440 at St Kitts. Voyage ID 17204 in www.slavevoyages.org.

413 The *Charming Betty*, William Bundy and Thomas Skinner masters, James Laroche & Co. owners, left Bristol on 28 Oct. 1749, intended to load 400 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to Barbados and 280 to the Upper James River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 6 Oct. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 27. Another source states that 276 imputed slaves embarked at Bonny and 209 imputed slaves disembarked at St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17200 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Africa[414]	320	4,300
Roebuck[415]	250	3,400
Amoretta[416]	260	3,500
Williamsburg[417]	400	5,000
Rainbow[418]	300	4,600
Hawk[419]	340	4,900
Culloden[420]	380	5,400
Levant[421]	450	5,700
Bonny[422]	450	5,800

414 The *Africa*, William Alexander Miller master, Joseph Iles & Co. owners, left Bristol on 12 Nov. 1749, intended to load 320 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered 280 slaves to the Upper James River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 19 Nov. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 26. Another source states that the ship embarked 341 imputed slaves at the Bight of Biafra. Voyage ID 17227 in www.slavevoyages.org.

415 The *Roebuck*, James Leech master, Michael Atkins & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 Mar. 1749, intended to load 250 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 23 Mar. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 33. Another source states that the ship embarked 184 imputed slaves at the Bight of Biafra and disembarked 140 imputed slaves at St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17250 in www.slavevoyages.org.

416 The *Amoretta*, Samuel Timberman master, Joseph Iles & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 Mar. 1750, delivered slaves to South Carolina, and returned to Bristol on 27 Jan. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 35. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and delivered 217 imputed slaves to Charleston. Voyage ID 17256 in www.slavevoyages.org.

417 The *Williamsburgh*, John Tate and James Sword masters, John King & Co. owners, left Bristol on 30 Aug. 1750, delivered 295 slaves to the Upper James River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 26 Nov. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 43. Another source states that the ship embarked 392 imputed slaves at the Bight of Biafra. Voyage ID 17226 in www.slavevoyages.org.

418 The *Rainbow*, Moses Morgan and William Engledue masters, John Thompson & Co. owners, left Bristol on 26 Apr. 1749, intended to load 300 slaves at Bonny, delivered the slaves to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 7 June 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 33. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra and delivered 209 imputed slaves to St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17249 in www.slavevoyages.org.

419 The *Hawk*, Organ Furnell master, Charles Tweedy & Co. owners, left Bristol on 1 Aug. 1749, intended to load 340 slaves at Calabar, delivered them to Antigua, and returned to Bristol on 15 Aug. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 29. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves at Old and New Calabar and disembarked an imputed 209 at Saint John, Antigua. Voyage ID 17237 in www.slavevoyages.org.

420 The *Culloden*, Patrick Turner, James Rodger and James Mathews masters, left Bristol on 12 Mar. 1750, delivered slaves to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 22 June 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 37. Another source states that the ship embarked 356 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 288 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 17261 in www.slavevoyages.org.

421 The *Levant*, William Wall master, James Laroche & Co. owners, left Bristol on 22 Oct. 1750 and returned there on 9 Aug. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 40. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves in Bonny and disembarked 209 imputed slaves in St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17269 in www.slavevoyages.org.

422 The *Bonny*, George Thompson master, left Bristol on 20 Oct. 1748, embarked 276 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 209 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 16; voyage ID 17199 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Earl Radnor[423]	320	5,000
Hope[424]	250	3,600
Chard[425]	300	4,000
Ann[426]	400	5,200
Hound[427]	200	2,800
Greyhound[428]	400	5,600
	8110	110,800

For Angola

	Number of slaves	Value of ships & cargoes
Susanna[429]	500	7,000

423 The *Earl of Radnor*, William Willyams master, James Laroche & Co. owners, left Bristol on 5 Dec. 1749 and and intended to load 320 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 28. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves at Calabar, was attacked from the shore by Africans and did not reach the Americas. Voyage ID 17233 in www.slavevoyages.org.

424 The *Hope*, John Clayton master, John Harmer & Co. owners, left Bristol on 15 Dec. 1749, intended to load 250 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered 153 to Upper James River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 17 Dec. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 29. Another source states that the ship embarked 187 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra. Voyage ID 17238 in www.slavevoyages.org.

425 The *Chard*, James Lecky and Thomas Charleton masters, Thomas Deane & Co. owners, left Bristol on 16 Aug. 1749, intended to load 300 slaves at Bonny, delivered them to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 17 July 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 27. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra and disembarked 209 imputed slaves at St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17230 in www.slavevoyages.org.

426 The *Ann*, William Perry master, left Bristol on 11 Oct. 1749, intended to load 400 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to an unknown destination, and returned to Bristol on 12 Aug. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 26. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves at the Bight of Biafra and delivered 209 imputed slaves to an unknown destination. Voyage ID 17228 in www.slavevoyages.org.

427 The *Hound*, Alexander Robe master, Thomas Deane & Co. owners, left Bristol on 11 Feb. 1749, intended to load 200 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to Tortola, and returned to Bristol on 27 Apr. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 30. Another source states that the ship embarked 276 imputed slaves at the Bight of Biafra and delivered 209 imputed slaves to Tortola. Voyage ID 17239 in www.slavevoyages.org.

428 The *Greyhound*, John Davis master, John Jones & Co. owners, left Bristol on 2 Nov. 1749, intended to load 400 slaves in the Bight of Biafra, delivered them to Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 14 Jan. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 29. Another source states that the ship embarked 506 imputed slaves in the Bight of Biafra and disembarked 384 imputed slaves in Barbados. Voyage ID 17236 in www.slavevoyages.org.

429 The *Susanna,* Robert Cowie master, Willim Gordon & Co. owners, left Bristol on 9 Nov. 1749, intended to load 500 slaves in Malimba/Angola, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 7 May 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 34. Another source states that the ship embarked 386 imputed slaves at Malembo and disembarked 351 imputed slaves at Kingston. Voyage ID 17252 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Duke Queensbury[430]	450	6,300
Emperor[431]	500	7,000
Tryall[432]	400	5,000
Southwell[433]	500	8,000
Jason[434]	600	8,400
Phoenix[435]	400	5,200
	3350	46,900

Totals	Ships	Number of slaves	Value of ships & cargoes
Gold Coast	17	5,180	103,100
Benin, Bonny & Calabar	23	8,110	110,800
Angola	7	3,350	46,900
	47	16,640	260,800

430 The *Duke of Queensbury*, Abraham Parsons master, William Hare & Co. owners, left Bristol on 28 July 1749, intended to load 450 slaves at Angola, delivered them to an unknown destination, and returned to Bristol on 26 Sept. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 27; Voyage ID 17232 in www.slavevoyages.org.

431 The *Emperor*, Charles Gwynn master, John Easton & Co. owners, left Bristol on 28 Jan. 1749, intended to load 500 slaves at Angola, delivered them to St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 3 Jan. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 28. Another source states that the ship embarked 386 imputed slaves at Congo North and Malembo and disembarked 351 imputed slaves at St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17234 in www.slavevoyages.org.

432 The *Tryal*, Abraham Saunders master, Philip Protheroe owner, left Bristol on 29 Aug. 1750, loaded slaves in Angola, delivered 390 slaves to York River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 30 Aug. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 42. Another source states that the ship embarked 493 imputed slaves in West Central Africa. Voyage ID 17276 in www.slavevoyages.org.

433 The *Southwell*, John Brackenridge master, Michael Becher owner, left Bristol on 6 Oct. 1748, intended to load 500 slaves in Angola, embarked 332 imputed slaves at Malembo, disembarked 284 slaves at Upper James River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 9 Jan. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 22; voyage ID 17217 in www.slavevoyages.org.

434 The *Jason Gally*, Abraham Gally master, Michael Becher & Co. owners, left Bristol on 19 Oct. 1750, delivered slaves from the Gold Coast to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 24 June 1752. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 40. Another source states that the ship embarked 273 imputed slaves at Petit Mesurado and Anomabu and disembarked 236 imputed slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 17268 in www.slavevoyages.org.

435 The *Phoenix*, Henry Ware master, left Bristol on 3 Sept. 1748, embarked 308 imputed slaves at Cabinda, disembarked 280 slaves at Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 6 July 1749. Richardson, ed., *Bristol. vol. 3*, p. 21; voyage ID 17213 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[36] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509840, Henry Bright, Savanna la Mar, to Richard Meyler,[436] Bristol, 12 April 1749, Bright Family Papers

This goes per post to Kingston for our Francis Bright to forward which brings you an accountt of my arrival here two days since. I am endeavouring to collect or get payments for Negroes sold at very great prices out of the *Swift*[437] and *Polly*[438] for which I shall be obliged to receive sugars which by the laws of this country none can refuse in payment.

We wrote you via Lancaster. I had to get payments on the best and easiest terms. We were induced to purchase a fine Bermudas sloop [damaged] *Pellham* which I can assure you is a strong sound built vessel. Have given the command to Captain [damaged] an experienced sober carefull man. I expect her down here in a few days. The exact time Francis Bright[439] will write you from Kingston. I shall provide for her here about ninety hogsheads of very good sugar. Believe they may cost 20 to 22/ per cent or thereabouts and hope the weights may hold but better than common as have a standard with me and none shall be shipt but what I inspect into. Have also provided piemento & cotton to fill her up. The former 6 per lb the latter 11d. The whole sugar cotton & piemento believe may amot to £2,000 or £3,000. We daily find that it will be impossible to compleat the *Polly* & *Swift*s remittance so soon as could wish, occationd that cant receive any cash in payments and when have a little currency cant get heavy silver for it nor even gold that's fit to ship home.

In my opinion that the foregoing produce will make a better return than money to designs to remit the value of 14 or 1500 curr[enc]y to the owners of the *Swift* and the same to the owners of the *Polly* which hope they will accept, of which Francis Bright will write to each of the concerns inclos'd to you which as soon as you receive deliver to them and immediately come to a resolution if they will accept it or not. If not and it's returned on our hands insure it fully on our accountts and dispose of the same to best advantage of which shall be more particular.

We have already wrote you to make insure on the sloop at and from Kingston to Savanna la Marr or to any port or ports in Jamaica so to Bristol which doubt not but you immediately on receipt of the orders complyd with. I shall goe for Lucea tomorrow or next day and return by that time the sloop will be here. A vessel sails

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436 Richard Meyler (1685-1772) was a merchant and became the father-in-law of Henry Bright. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 685; Bright, *Tales of Opportunity*, pp. 53, 55-60.

437 The *Swift*, Mathew Combe master replaced by Abram Ketheless, left Bristol on 4 Nov. 1748, intended to purchase 280 slaves on the Gold Coast, sold them in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 24 Mar. 1750. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 23. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17220 in www.slavevoyages.org: the ship left Bristol on 4 Nov. 1748, embarked 301 imputed slaves at Anomabu, and disembarked 260 imputed slaves at Kingston on 2 Aug. 1749.

438 The *Polly*, Samuel Rowles master, left Bristol in 1749, purchased slaves on the Gold Coast, sold them in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 29 June 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 33. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17187 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were Thomas Power, Henry Bright, Richard Bright, Corsley Rogers, Francis Pardoe, - Tyndall, W. Matthew and – Ames. The vessel left Bristol on 10 Sept. 1749, embarked 387 imputed slaves at the Gold Coast, disembarked 331 imputed slaves at Kingston, and arrived back at Bristol on 11 Jan. 1749.

439 Francis Bright left Bristol for Jamaica in Nov. 1743 and joined forces with his brother Henry and Thomas Gordon under the partnership of Gordons & Bright. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 34.

from hence for London soon. By her shall be more particular so have now not to add more than my love to my wife. Tell her I thank God I am pure and well and should be glad to hear the same for her. She must excuse my not writing her now. Accept my duty & love for self mother &c.

[37] Bristol Archives, acc. SMV/7/2/1/25, Trade goods for the *Molly*,[440] 1 January 1750, Accounts of the *Molly* snow[441]

Bristol 1 January 1750
Invoice of merchandize shipt on board the *Molly* Snow John Fowler commander for the Windward and Gold Coast and the Bite of Africa consigned said captain for the purchase of Negroes Elephants teeth[442] etc. on account of Richard Meyler & Company owners of said ship

					Barrs per pieces	Barrs
MS	Bought of George Arnold & Co India goods					
	210 niccanees large superfine 2 1 0 pieces @19/-	199	10	0	3½	735
	140 byrampauts ditto 140 ditto@ 25/-	175	-	-	4½	630
	20 niccanees small ditto @14/-	14	-	-	2½	50
	70 India chilloes fine @ 29/-	101	10	-	4½	765
	60 India blew bafts superfine @ 35/-	105	-	-		
	40 India chilloes ditto @ 30/-	60	-	-		
	40 brawles fine @ 5/6	11	-	-	1½	60
	10 bejutapauts blew superfine 24/-	12	-	-	4½	45
	20 Allijar chillaes ditto 14/6	14	10	-	2½	50
	200 brawles ditto 6/6	65	-	-	1½	300
	150 cotton romalls blew ditto 14/-	105	-	-	3	450
	50 ditto fine 12/6	31	5	-	3	150
	20 neganipauts superfine 27/-	27	-	-	4½	135
	10 bejutapauts blew ditto 24/-	12	-	-		
	20 brawles fine 5/6	5	10	-	1½	30
	20 Allijar chillaes superfine 14/6	14	10	-	2½	50
	30 chints blew & white 28/-	42	-	-	4½	135

440 The *Molly*, John Fowler master, Corsley Rogers, Jeremiah Ames, John Fowler, John Collet, Henry West, Richard Meyler owners, left Bristol on 10 Jan. 1751, purchased 161 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 125 slaves at Savanna la Mar, and returned to Bristol on 29 May 1752. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 50; voyage ID 17296 in www.slavevoyages.org.

441 Only a photocopy, not the original, of this document is available at the Bristol Archives.

442 i.e. ivory.

	Packing etc & charge of entry	3	3	-		
	Bought of Samuel Peach[443] viz					
	10 fine cotton bafts 18 yards each @22/6	11	5	-	4½	180
	30 superfine ditto all Cotton 8/-	42	-	-		
	24 King cloaths 3/6	4	4	-	1	24
	14 fine chilloes 15 yards each 14/6	10	3	-	2½	75
	10 ditto 13/6	6	15	-		
	6 ditto 14/-	4	4	-		
	49 superfine ditto that will tare 24/-	58	16	-	4½	220
	Carried forward	£1135	5	-	Barrs	4084

Trade Goods with barr value: *Molly* 1750

					Barrs per pieces	Barrs
MS	Invoice Brought Forward	£1135	5	-	-	4084
	1 superfine chilloe 17 yards @22/8	1	2	8	4½	4½
	20 custees 10 yards each 16/-	16	-	-	3	60
	7 pieces yard check quantity 74¾ yards 9¾d	3	-	9	2	14
	17 pieces ditto 15 yards each 255 yards 9¾	10	7	2	3	51
	10 pieces fine cotton ditto quantity 112½ yards 11	5	3	2	2½	50
	10 pieces superfine cotton plods quantity 10¾ 12	5	3	3		
	25 pair cabbin blankets 3/6	4	9	6	1	25
	& 3 yards Hessens to pack ditto 2/-					
	Bought of Martha Knipe & Company					
	40 pieces half says deep blue @21/6	43	-	-	3½	140
	Bought of William Champion[444] & Company					
	50 neptunes 30 to 36 Inches 4.3.15					
	50 ditto 4.3.27					
	50 ditto 4.3.12					

443 Linendraper (1715-13 May 1785) and a partner in banking firm Peach, Fowler & Co. (1774-81). Cave, *Bristol Banking*, pp. 100-2; Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 49.

444 A Bristol shipowner who was declared bankrupt in 1769. Powell, *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War*, p. 227; Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 186.

	50 ditto	4.3.5					
	50 ditto	4.3.26					
	50 ditto	4.3.2					
	20 Ditto 26 to 30 Inches	*1.1.5*					
	30.2.8		-	-	-	3	960
	20 Guinea kettles 14½ to 17½ Ins over 1.-.25		-	-	-	2½	50
	100 ditto pans 11 to 14½ over	*1.-.6*	-	-	-	2	50
	32.3.11 Nett @£7.5.-		238	2	9	-	-
	Bought of Michael Miller[445]						
	6 bunch red pipes 40 round black 6 purple						
	6 ditto black & white 6 red & white 6 purple						
	Olivettos 6 white 6 yellow 5 green ditto						
	Weight 2.1.19 *1.11* Tare 2.0.8 nett suttle 232 lbs @11d		10	12	8	1	84
	3 bunches green seed	6 bunches @1/- per	-	6	-	-	2
	1 ditto white						
	1 ditto dove						
	1 ditto red						
	3 bunches fine beads No 90 @3/-		-	9	-	-	3
	part of debenture		-	11	-	-	-
	Carried forward		£1473	12	11	Barrs 5577½	

					Barrs per pieces	Barrs
MS	Brought forward	£1473	12	11		5577½
	Bought of Job Charleton[446]					

445 Michael Miller (d. 24 May 1785) was a merchant, shipowner and partner in Miles' Bank, Bristol, between 1752 and 1785. He was a member of the Tory Steadfast Society and a correspondent of Edmund Burke while he was a Bristol M.P. between 1774 and 1780. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 26; Nicholas Rogers, *Maritime Bristol in the Slave-Trade Era* (Woodbridge, 2024), pp. 116 n. 83, 129.

446 He held shares in a Bristol slaving vessel in 1757-8. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 116.

	15 groce large prest horn slopt knives @27/-	20	5	-	7½ per pieces	112½
	Bought of Charles Whittuck					
	8 dozen of Mens felts at 13/-	5	4	-	½	48
	3 Mens carrstors @7/-	1	1	-		
	Gold lace for	1	1	9½	4	12
	Buttons & loops	-	2	2½		
	Bought of Thomas Owen					
	8 Dozen of Mens felts[447] @13/-	5	4	-	½	48
	3 mens fine hatts gold lace buttons & loops @12/3	3	3	9	4	12
	5 yards of ribbin	-	2	1		
	Bought of James Laroache					
	6 Casks manillas[448] cwt 18.1.8 *.3.27* tare 17.1.9 suttle 1941 lb @ 9d per & 1/6 per cask	73	4	9	5 [?] @20lb	485
	2 boxes of Copper rods 94 lb[449] each is 250 rodds weight 198 lb @15d per lb & 1/- per box	12	9	6	1@3	83
	Bought of John Fowler a hogshead of tobacco quantity 914 lb @ 2¾d allowed for ship use ¾ remains for cargoe 600 lb @ 10 lb 100 barrs	10	9	5½	-	60
	Bought of William Gordon[450] barrs iron[451]					
	170 barrs cwt 34.1.22 *.26* Br @4 lb per 34.0.24 nett @£18.10.- per ton	31	13	-	1	170
	1009 barrs cwt 219.0.17 *1.1.26* Br 4lb per *217.2.19* 10.17.2.19 nett @ £19 per ton	206	15	8	1	1009

447 i.e. felt hats.

448 Metal bracelets used as a form of currency in the slave trade with Africa.

449 Total weight and value gives a box weight of 99 lb.

450 A Bristol merchant connected with the Bright family who invested in the slaving voyages of the *Bristol Merchant* in 1746/7. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 116.

451 Iron bars were used as a money of exchange in the slave trade with Africa.

	Bought of Thomas & Richard Frank[452]					
	1 crate quantity 3 dozen blew stone 3 quart juggs 8/-	1	4	-	3 per doz	45
	1 ditto 6 dozen 2 5/4	1	12	-		
	1 ditto 6 dozen 1 4/-	1	4	-		
	Carried forward	£1848	9	1¾	Barrs 7662	

					Barrs per pieces	Barrs
MS	Invoice brought forward	£1848	9	1¾		7662
	Bought of Joseph Brown					
	20 pieces light sayle cloth 208 yards @ 9d	7	16	4½	5½	56
	Bought of Allen Bright[453]					
	50 fine 2 lb basons cwt 0.3.11 60 ditto 3 lb ditto *1.2.9½* 2.1.20½ @ 9½d per	10	15	8¼	2	55
	wyreing 20 large kittles @ 2/4 per	2	6	8	-	-
	Bought of Henry Tonge[454] & Son					
	a bale quantity 30 super red half ells @16/6	24	15	-	6	180
	Canvas boards cords etc	-	6	-		
	Bought of the old owners					
	17 pieces long ells @ 29/-	24	13	-	10	170
	25 pieces half says 18/-	22	10	-	4	100
	5 pieces linseys 28/-	7	-	-	6	30
	36 carpitts 2/6	4	10	-	½	18
	35 dozen English romall handkerchiefs 8/-	14	-	-	2	70
	1 piece silver tissue	1	6	-	-	6
	33 Guinea cloths 3/6	5	15	6	1	33

452 Thomas Frank was a Bristol merchant who went bankrupt in 1778. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 189.

453 Allen Bright (1720-63) was a member of a Bristol firm of pewterers and brassfounders. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 24; Bright, *Tales of Opportunity*, pp. 31, 105-10.

454 A Bristol merchant. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 184.

	2 pieces cotton stripes 10/6	1	1	-	2½	5
	13 pieces English cotton stars 11/-	7	3	-	2½	32½
	5 pieces chilloes 15/-	3	15	-	3	10
	2 pieces India bejutapauts 22/6	2	5	-	4½	9
	7 pieces patna chints 18/-	6	6	-	4	28
	11 pieces chorryderries 15/-	8	5	-	3½	38½
	1 brawle	-	5	-	1½	1½
	Bought of Thomas Hill lead viz					
	3 casks quantity 494 barrs weight cwt 12.0.8 @13/6 per	8	3	-	4 per barr	123
	Drop shott & casks weight 5.0.0 @ ditto	3	7	6	-	50
	Bought of Stephen White I hogshead tallow nett cwt 11.1.18 at 35/- melted into 100 keggs	19	19	4	-	100
	Charges of milting ditto	-	18	-	-	-
	Carried forward	£2035	11	2½		barrs 8782½[455]

					Barrs per pieces	Barrs
	Brought forward	£2035	11	2½		8782½
	Bought of the proprietors Littletons Powder Works[456]					
	50 barrells gunpowder @ 73/- per					
	Casks returned £2.10.- filled 765 small kegs & 65 large	180	-	-	1½ & 3	125½
	Bought of John Trevaskes[457] corn spiritts					
	Quantity 797 gallons @ 13½d per	44	16	7½	1 per Gallon	797
	Bought of John Hulbert[458] corn spiritts					

455 Incorrect – should be 8777½.

456 A gunpowder works between Winford and Chew Magna, Somerset. Brenda J. Buchanan, 'Bath's Forgotten Gunpowder History: The Powder Mills at Woolley in the Eighteenth Century,' *Bath History*, 10 (2005), pp. 72-96.

457 He held a one-sixteenth share in the slaving voyage of the *Bristol Merchant* in 1746-7. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 116.

458 A distiller in Bristol. Ibid., p. 219.

	Quantity 540 gallons @ 13½d per	30	7	6	-	540
	Bought of Samuel Page[459]					
	86 musquets @6/4d	27	2	8	3½	258[460]
	83 Ditto prov'd 7/-	29	1	-	3½	249
	10 runletts butter 28 lb each 280 lb @3¾d	4	7	6	2½	25
	100 stone juggs filled with brandy 18d	7	10	-		
	100 wicker botles filled with ditto 21d per	8	15	-		
	158 kegs & 9 tearces ditto kegs 18d tearces 6/-	14	11	-		
	3 bushell casks lead 4/3 7 Neptunes 35/-	1	19	3		
	1 cask for brass 2/- 1 for kittles 3/6 1 pewter 4/-	-	9	6		
	2 casks hatts 8/- 2 barrels knives 7/-	-	15	-		
	100 keggs for tallow @10d	4	3	4		
	10 ditto for butter	-	15	-		
	776 casks for powder 17 to a barrel	25	17	4		
	35 ditto 7 to a barrel	1	15	-		
	Charges heading filling powder etc	1	17	10		
	Bought of John Jenkins					
	54 common musquetts with tail spikes 6/4	17	2	-	3	162
	26 prooft buccaneers ditto 10/-	13	-	-	4	104
	16 prooft musquetts 7/-	5	12	-	3	52
	Returned guns last voyadge					
	27 trading guns					
	4 musquetts @6/6	11	7	6	3	105
	4 trading					
	Paid carriage of India Goods & entrys & fees	12	11	10		
		£2479	8	1	Barrs 12327[461]	

459 A Bristol ironmonger. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 185.

460 This and the following assume 3 bars per item not 3.5.

461 This is quite astonishingly inaccurate. The real total should be 11,195.

[38] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509880, Henry Bright, Jamaica, to Richard Meyler, Bristol, 22 August 1750, Bright Family Papers

As I imagine whether I have Business or not to make the subject of any letter, that you are allways glad to here of my welfare this is cheifly to inform you of such and that yet no allteration in trade for the better. Not any ship from Africa since my last arrived, nor any vessel from England, so consequently have not yet had the pleasure of any news of the arrival of sundry vessels have shipt on the beginning of the year particularly the *Fortune* whose welfare much depends [damaged] by a vessel from Dublin the latter end of June are informed that logwood continued at so great prices. I wish the *Milford* and *Salisbury* may be dispatcht as here are sugars enough yet remaining the shipping having fallen short this year which I look on to be greatly occasioned by having no Guinea ships to hand in comparison to [damaged] the great crop. However must say that have a [damaged] prospect of the ensuing and fear will be receiving shock which with the stagnation of the Spanish trade affords us a bad prospect of trade to this place.[462] Goods are daily selling at vendue for less currency than they cost sterling. Many people are breaking up stores finding it impossible to doe business to advantage. On the whole it's worse here than you can imagine. We are settling all our affairs in the best manner we can and must say that to continue my resolution as Francis Bright is going to be married[463] to settle all before I leave this which hope shall effectually accomplish before the last of February next after which the first good ship designed to leave this place so excuse me to my wife for not writing her by this conveyance. Shall write her tomorrow per the *Emperor*[464] for Bristol.

P.S. Have shipt ¾ ton fustick on the *Emperor* on our own accounts also ten hogsheads sugar for present currency if her [damaged] French which was all could get on board her.

[39] Jane Bright Collection, Portsea, Victoria, Australia, Richard Meyler, Bristol, to James Pardoe, 10 December 1751, Richard Meyler letterbook (1751-64)

I am favour'd with yours of 27th October & 24 ultimo by which find you are uneasy that the *Polly* was not dispatch sooner, which I must tell you was not in my power, because I applied for India goods, but could not get either bejudapauts neganipauts or niccanees nor chelloes, without which the Captain told me twas imposible to make his purchase. I then applied to have the same goods from Manchester, but was oblidged to wait for the making which I at last got completed and I thank God she sayled Saturday the 30 November with a cargoe about £4,690 as well sorted as I could wish. I have taken all the pains care & dilligence in this affair as I could and

462 The stagnation mainly resulted from the end of the South Sea Company's trading career, signified by Keene's Treaty of Oct. 1750. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 226.

463 He never married, but became ill and died in 1754 leaving a female pregnant companion who was also suckling a child. Ibid. p. 42.

464 The *Emperor*, William Thanes master, [John Easton & Co. owners], left Bristol in 1750 and returned there c. Aug. 1751. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 37. Another source states that the ship embarked 271 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 217 imputed slaves at St. Kitts. Voyage ID 17262 in www.slavevoyages.org.

got her away before the saylers wages was risen. I give only 25/ per month whereas they now give 30/ per [month] & have shipt 35 men in number.

As tis your desire to part with your share I have sold Mr Edward Whatley[465] 1/14 part for £50 the same as Mr Matthews sold his part to Mr Leehook[466] so if you fill up a bill of sale to him for that part may draw on him payable thirty days after date for fifty pounds which he will except on receiving your bill of sale, and will use my endeavour to dispose of the other part

As I have now joined my brother Francis Meyler[467] for the house at Jamaica with Messrs Bright & Hall,[468] I should be very glad of your Interest in promoting said house, and if you will be so good as to send them a ship or two of negroes, you shall have sufficient security to make good your returns and any loss that might be sustain'd by them your favour herein will greatly oblidge

[40] The National Archives, Kew, CO 388/45, James Laroche, Bristol, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 3 July 1752

I am desired by the members of the African Company in this city,[469] this day assembled, to return you their gratefull thanks for your Lordships great care, & most kind protection, of the African trade, & in a particular manner for that signal instance of it, in obtaining from their excellencys their Lords of the Regency an order for rebuilding the fort at Anamabo. A commission which I do myself the greatest honour to execute with the greatest pleasure.

The favour which your lordships bestow on this branch of trade, & at this time in particular, must manifest to all the real good wishes you have for & the exceeding salutary methods you put in use to take care of the trade of the kingdom in general, as so many branches both foreign & domestic owe their rise & prosperity to this alone. We flatter ourselves that your Lordships will continue it under your protection, under which we have reason to expect the greatest advantage.

[41] Bristol Archives, acc. SMV/7/2/1/25, Richard Meyler & Co., Bristol, to Captain John Fowler, 20 August 1752, Account book of the snow *Molly*[470]

We continue you the command of our snow *Molly*[471] and order you to embrace first fair wind or fair weather and sail for Angola on the coast of Africa. If trade is opened at Cape Benda[472] with the natives that will be the best place to barter your cargoe

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465 A Bristol merchant and partner of Robert Whatley (of Whatley, Meyler & Hall) in Bristol privateering ventures in the 1740s. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 267; Powell, *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War*, p. 182.

466 Ranjat Leehook, a London merchant. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 286.

467 An error: it should be Francis Bright, who was a member of the firm of Bright, Meyler & Hall in 1751-2. Ibid., p. 28.

468 Merchants and factors in Jamaica connected to the Bright family of Bristol. Ibid., p. 677.

469 i.e. the Bristol branch of the Company of Merchant Adventurers to Africa.

470 Only a photocopy, not the original, of this document is available at the Bristol Archives.

471 The *Molly*, John Fowler master, Corsley Rogers, Jeremiah Ames, Henry West, John Fowler and Richard Meyler owners, left Bristol on 25 Aug. 1752, embarked 225 imputed slaves at Loango, disembarked 193 slaves at St. Kitts and returned to Bristol on 19 Oct. 1753. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 62; voyage ID 17323 in www.slavevoyages.org.

472 Probably Cabinda, north of the Congo River estuary.

and make your purchase of Negroes; but if that is not practicable then at Malimbo or Loango[473] just where you can purchase the best slaves and have the quick despatch. Only observe that tis our desire you purchase at least 2/3rds of the male kind.[474] Always prefer good healthy men and men boys.[475] Although the purchase may exceed others yet they will vend best at whatever market they are disposed at.

As the cargo is large amounting to £2,843 14s. 18d. we expect to purchase more Negroes than our snow can carry. We therefore recommend to purchase teeth[476] of all sizes or anything else you know or think will turn to our advantage.

When fully slaved or done all you can with the cargoe sail for America and touch at St Christophers where you shall find our orders in the hands of Mr James Smith[477] or perhaps some other person.

If you should be so fortunate to meet a good dispatch and miss our orders at St Christophers and it should not be a proper season of the year to go to Maryland then you may proceed to Jamaica and deliver the cargoe of Negroes to Messrs Bright, Whatley, Meyler & Hall.[478] Wherever you deliver your cargoe of Negroes they to whom you doth deliver them must pay you your commission which is four on every one hundred & four pounds of the nett proceeds of the cargo and also furnish you with cash to pay the sailors full half wages[479] and disburstments and the doctor head money as usual.[480]

Your wages is five pounds per month the same as last voyage your priviledge five Negroes[481] and four more on freight your chief mate and doctor have two priviledge slaves each and the doctor one more on freight and the second mate one. All those negroes must be marked when purchased in the presence of y[ou]r officers and if you will not comply with marking them when purchased you must bear an equall proportion of the mortality.

We require a regular account of your barter and purchase on the coast & that you take a special care that every officer doth his duty, and that the cook keeps the kettle and furnace very clean and dress the victuals in proper time all which may prevent sickness, and pray see your slaves are used with great lenity and humanity and not abused by any of the ship's company and that a strict watch be kept night and day to prevent their rising. If it is possible do not let the Negroes come on deck in a great sweat. If they must let this sweat be very well dried off them with a cloth. If any are sick let the doctor do his utmost for their recovery.

As the success of the voyage depends on your prudence & frugality we expect

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473 i.e. Malembo. Loango and Malembo were coastal locations north of Cabinda.

474 This was a ratio commonly observed in purchasing slaves in West Africa.

475 Men-boys were adolescent males.

476 i.e. elephants' teeth or ivory.

477 A merchant in St. Kitts and a partner in the firm of Smith & Clifton. Hamer et al., eds., *Laurens Papers*, vol. i, p. 254 n.9.

478 A merchant partnership in the Bristol-Jamaica trade comprising Henry Bright, Jeremiah Meyler, Robert Whatley and Charles Hall. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 28.

479 Sometimes crew were paid half their wages in the currency of the place of sale of slave cargoes and the remainder of their wages on completion of a voyage. This is explained in 'Answers from the Collector and Comptroller at Bristol,' 11 Nov. 1788, in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 69, pp. 160-1.

480 Refers to additional money paid to the surgeon according to the number of slaves on board ship.

481 A certain number of 'privilege' slaves were normally allocated to captains, mates and surgeons on slaving voyages in return for delivering a specified proportion of slaves to their place of disembarkation.

you will esteem our interest equall with your own. In case of your mortality (which God forbid) your chief mate John Griffiths must take the command of the ship and follow these and all subsequent orders: and whatever of the cargoe is purchased after your decease the commissions are to be divided equall between said Griffiths and Walter Violett the doctor they taking it at the port of the persons to whom the cargoe is consign'd and your commissions remitted home by the merchants to your relations.

Be carefull in the whole concern and frugall in all your disburstments keeping a good decorum and harmony among your officers and sailors taking great care of your provisions and stores and see that nothing is embezzled or wasted. Keep a good lookout at sea especially when you expect to make any land or island and avoid speaking with any ship except there is a necessity least you should be surprised by a rogue. We recommend you to the divine protection most heartily wishing you a safe and prosperous voyage.

[42] National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Richard Holden, Bristol, to John Holden, Baldovie, 26 November 1752, Holden of Baldovie MSS

Thy most agreeable and welcome favour dated the 13th instant I receivd which is the first I have had from thee since we came home, notwithstanding all the letters I have had from Baldovie, was thy own directions. As to our coat of arms, I was verry particular about inquiring into it before I took it out which was at the doctor's commons when I was in London lately. The terms is (viz) a fesse[482] between two chevrons, a gold cup, cover'd, and the crest a more cock, which two first articles you will find describ'd in the dictionary. The name is spelt the same as ours and derives from Holden of Holden in Lancashire, and the York Herald told me it was the true arms belonging to the name. I have sent the arms to Mr Alex Hogg in London to be forwarded to you by the first opportunity. It is on parchment set in a frame cover'd with glass, which I had done at the herrald's office in London.

When I was at home last year I sent thee a keg with St Thomas's soap, and I would be glad to know if it came to hand. I sent it to the care of Mr Hogg in London.

We buried nigh a hundred slaves last voyage & yet we were better off than any other ships on that part of the coast, and sold our slaves at a better price than any was at Virginia this season. I am not yet determin'd what part of the coast I shal goe to.

Dear John, let me beg the favour of you to write me often & I will be sure allways to return [your favour.] Being the needful at present I remain with my love to my dear father, my dearest Debby, Sally & thyself from dear John thy ever loving & most affectionate brother.

[43] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509924, Richard Meyler, Bristol, to Captain John Fowler, 10 February 1753, Bright Family Papers

We wrote you the 5 December by the *Cyprus* but then omitted to say that if your Negroes were sickly and that you did not think it prudent to proceed to Maryland then we give you liberty to go to Jamaica. So that we leave it to your option to go to Virginia Maryland or Jamaica which of the markets you think advisable for the

482 In heraldry this is an ordinary consisting of a horizontal band across a shield.

benefit of the concerned. But in case of your mortality (which God forbid) then tis our orders that Mr John Griffiths or who else commands our snow that he proceeds direct down to Jamaica and deliver our cargoe to Messrs Bright & Whatly Meyler & Hall[483] according to our original orders. We heartily wish you're your health a good voyadge & same return.

Inclos'd you have Messrs Tilghman & Ringgold[484] answer to yours of 15th June last.

[44] Jane Bright Collection, Portsea, Victoria, Australia, Richard Meyler, Bristol, to Sargent Birch & Co.,[485] London, 13 December 1753, Richard Meyler letterbook (1751-64)

I am favoured with yrs of 6th Instant and am contented you should keep the bills of £60 on Mr Spooner some time longer as the Notary hath noted[486] its for non-payment. He can when you please protest it & thereby if Mr Spooner never pays it the loss will not fall on me. Inclosed you have Mr Dowells bill on Barclay & Fuller[487] for £200 wch Mr Bright desires youll get accepted & place it to the creditt of his accountt. If tis refused get it noted as usuall.

I impatiently wait to know what you can supply the *Polly* with & the prices. I hope the sale of such goods will be over this week & that you'll let me know by Saturday night post which will oblige.

Captain Duncomb[488] told in the Fire Office[489] when he came from London there were no patna chintz in your city except about 80 pieces of old patterns that he thought not vendable on the coast. If this is true twould be better go without such goods but if otherwise should be glad to have some good ones in our cargoe.

[45] Jane Bright Collection, Portsea, Victoria, Australia, Richard Meyler, Bristol, to Captain Samuel Rowles, 14 September 1754, Richard Meyler letterbook (1751-64)

We hope this will find you safe in Jamaica with a good healthy cargoe of young well grown Negroes which you are to deliver to Messrs Bright, Whatley & Co. together with all returned goods rice & corn & who have wrote him to pay you your coast commissions & your proportion of the cargoe which cost here £5364 5s. 4d. including the 12 boxes of copper rods & 600 brass pans sent you. Perhaps you may say that the invoice of cargo debited you was but £5,189 10s. 11d. therefore we have

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483 Merchants and factors in Bristol and Jamaica, comprising Henry Bright, Jeremiah Meyler, Robert Whatley and Charles Hall. The partnership operated in 1754-5. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 28.

484 Merchants in Maryland. Ibid., p. 280.

485 London merchants.

486 This involved a notary presenting the dishonoured bill to the defaulting party for acceptance or payment and recording on the bill the reason for dishonour.

487 George Barclay and Thomas Fuller, London merchants, who signed indentures of copartnership in 1745. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/firm/view/; Anne M. Powers, *A Parcel of Ribbons: Letters of an 18th Century Family in London and Jamaica* (n.p., 2012), p. 29.

488 David Duncombe was a master of African slave vessels. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, pp. 15, 37, 56, 79, 100, 120, 157, 174.

489 i.e. dealing with fire insurance.

explained it at foot. We have also wrote them to supply you with cash to pay half wages & disburstments & to load our ship on purchase or freight which they can best procure. Therefore you must if they require it go with the ship to any outport to load or compleat your loading, or if they see an advantageous freight offers to the Spanish or English settlements you may proceed with their directions to either & from thence as they may direct.

Advise us by all opportunities that we may make proper insurance. When loaded for either of above mentioned or for this port make all possible dispatch & endeavour not to speak with any vessel in the passages least should be surprized by a guarda costa,[490] & when you return keep well to the northward for the Prince of Sally[491] has declared war with our nation although his father is in amity with us, we hear. Pray be as frugal as possible in your disburstments & keep a good decorum among your men that they may love as well as fear you. Consider that the high prices you give for the Negroes & the great loss by the returns from Jamaica, 'twill be impossible to make a voyage or even save our own without the greatest frugality. You must also take a special care the goods are well stowed & ship well caulkt by the carpenter that your cargoe may not be damaged. For there's always great complaints that the Guinea ships take no care of the homeward cargo.

We heartily wish you health & a prosperous voyage.

Your invoice amounts to £5189 10s. 11d.

Mr John Smith debited you when in Kingroad half says & long ells £101 11s.

Mr George Weare a cask of snuff £8 15s.

2 casks cowries more than the invoice £7 10s 10d.

Carriage of goods from London on entry at custom house & halling amount to 325 2s. 11d.

£5332 10s. 8d.

Deduct debentures & abatements £71 14s.

£5260 16s. 8d.

Add what sent you per Beckford £103 8s. 8d.

£5364 5s. 4d.

[46] Gloucestershire Record Office, Captain Charles Gwynn to Captain Richard Prankard & Co., 15 December 1754, Miscellaneous Correspondence of Richard Prankard

This waits on you with my best regard & I hope these few lines will find you in a good state of health & my wife & Miss Polly which please to give my love to both. Inclos'd you have a bill for sixty pounds sterling which please to get payed when due & please to pay forty pounds & take up the bond I was bound with Mr Holden[492] my surgeon I shall be oblidged to you.

If it suits you when Mr Holden comes home to discharge the bond & tell my wife to give up his note of hand for ten guineas & the bill & power that he gave me for I have settled all with him here. The reason of the doctor's requesting his discharge as he wrote me was that he could not agree with the officers but if the truth was known

490 i.e. a Spanish privateer.

491 Sallee is situated in northwestern Morocco.

492 For letters written by him, see documents nos. 42 and 49.

it was as much upon my account as theirs. I have nothing to say against him as to his duty only that all my medicines that was usefull was out for three weeks before my arrival & his behaviour to both officers & people gave me a dislike to him though he never showed any of it to me. Please to do for me as to insurance as you do for yourself & you shall hear further as to my adventures for if I can get bills I will please to give my service to Mr Stratton & Fireside & all friends.

Excuse haste for I have my hands full. Mr Neal is very well & behaved extronary [i.e. extraordinary] well as all the rest of my officers do.

[47] Gloucestershire Record Office, Austin & Laurens,[493] Charleston, to Captain Charles Gwynn, 15 March 1755, Miscellaneous Correspondence of Richard Prankard

This bearer was departing so early as expected enables us to give you some account of the *Emperor* though a very poor one. We must take leave to transmit it to you in the words we have received it viz. extract of a letter to us from Mr Felix Doran of St Kitts dated December 28 and came to our hands yesterday. Captain Carruthers of the *Jesse* of Liverpool called here about a fortnight ago in her way to Jamaica with 290 Angola slaves[494] left Captain Gwynn at Malimba with 200 he would not purchase above 150 more. There were so many dead. You may expect him in six weeks. From this intelligence tis to be feared the voyage must prove turns out but very indifferently. Here is a sloop of Rhode Island from the Windward Coast with about 70 slaves which are to sell next week. These are the only parcel arrived with us as yet this year. We hope Captain Gwynn will be the next vessel from Africa that shall appear and if she has 350 healthy grown slaves it won't still prove a bad voyage.

[48] Jane Bright Collection, Portsea, Victoria, Australia, Richard Meyler, Bristol, to Jeremiah Meyler, Kingston, 10 April 1755, Richard Meyler letterbook (1751-64)

I wrote you the 31st October per *Ruby* & *Little Jenny* both which we hear are arrived, but not a line from you. I have also wrote 4 January per Captain Monslow & 1 February per *Dutchess of Beaufort* Captain Nash & therein told you the distress you have put us to in your management, & now must tell you that we expect a war will soon be declared by the French,[495] so that what you ship must be insured at an extravagant rate, which together with the high prices of your commodities or country produce must make most miserable returns for you to pay your debts & for us to have the 6/8ths of the Negroe consignments home to enable us to pay our debts. Had you made the remittance last year instead of laying out in Negroes & other cargoes to supply your store in Savanna la Mar 'twould been much to your advantage, our

493 A prominent Charleston mercantile firm. George Austin was a merchant in Charleston between 1730 and 1762. He was in partnership with Henry Laurens from 1749 until 1759. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 238. For a biography of Laurens, see David Duncan Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens* (New York, 1915).

494 Another source states that the *Jesse*, James Carruthers master, gathered from the Windward Coast and Anomabu to Kingston. Voyage ID 90503 in www.slavevoyages.org.

495 Britain declared war on France on 20 May 1756. France did not issue a formal declaration of war on Britain until the following month.

satisfaction & profit, whereas now our Negroes are now arrived to a dull market. Cannot send a part to you because your market is overstockt. 'Twas a high judged thing to discourage your friends from prosecuting the Affrica trade to procure you the consignments.

I will say no more on the account till I am favoured with a line how you design to proceed, only desire I may have a remittance of the net proceeds of my syder, account sales of which was promised by your house per the *Eugene*.

Edward Searle could not tarry above 2 months before he married Grace Parmiter a mantua maker whose sister lived with him a servant some years ago & moved from thence to Moses Slade's at Baptist Mills. He hath given the world an opportunity to despise him. All friends well in Wales & they as well as all my family remembers their kind love to you.

I except [i.e. expect] all the ships I am concerned in will be dispatcht before this reach your hand.

Sugar 34/ to 40 exceeding good if above that price
Cotton about 12d
Ginger is risen to above 30/ per cwt
Pimento 9d to 10d
Logwood 312
Fustick £6 10/

But I leave all prices of goods here for your trade for your brother to write per Carolina Captain Dolman.

[49] National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Richard Holden, Bristol, to John Holden, Baldovie, 28 July 1755, Holden of Baldovie MSS

I hope thy goodness will excuse my not writing sooner, as I wrote to my father the 8th instant & to my brother Abram the same day informing them of my arrival here on the 7th instant after making a verry bad voyage for myself, as my three slaves[496] were much out of order when I sold them, so that they did not bring me prime cost. We were forc'd off the coast of Carrolina by a hard gale of wind when we was within about thirty leagues of the land so that after beating & lying for six or seven days (in such weather that I have not seen worse in our channel in the middle of winter, and by the cold and great seas that on board of us, lost upwards of one hundred of our negroes, and a main sail which was blown all to pieces from the yard) we was obliged to bear away for Jamaica with no more than three week's provisions on board for white & black, and to our great joy we arriv'd at Kingston in Jamaica on the 27th of April but came to a very bad market for our slaves.

Dear John I would have wrote to my dearest Debby long before now but I waited with impatience for the answer of my letters to my father & Aby[497] which I have not yet rec'd, and makes me very uneasie. Be so good as let me know if everything came to hand that I sent you last voyage when I sail'd. I hope my father, self, spouse Debby & Sally is all well, to whom Mrs Turner joins me in kind love from dear John thy ever affectionate & loving brother.

P. S. Please let me know if there be any young family yet. I have been at a place

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496 i.e. his 'privilege' slaves.

497 i.e. his brother Abram: see earlier in the letter.

called Cheltenham in Gloucestershire for the benefit of steel water'd there,[498] as my health was a good deal impair'd this voyage by uneasiness & fretting. I staid a week but it proved more expensive than what I could afford so was oblige to leave it. It is more than fifty miles from Bristol. Dear John let me beg of you not to forgo writing often, which will be the greatest pleasure I can have in hearing from you.

[50] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 30/259, William Miller,[499] Kingston, to James Laroche & Co., owners of the *Black Prince*,[500] Bristol, 29 September 1756

I wrote you the 3rd instant by the packett and *Prince of Wales* Capt. Lewis where acquaint of my arrival with 328 slaves on account of the general about 15 hundred weight of ivory and leaving in the hands of Messrs Carter & Hunter 108 ounces 15 pinches of gold dust also the sale of 120 Negroes the loss of my people except my officers and two or three boys. The number at present sold is 193. The sales amount to £9,373. The expectation the gentlemen had from the court sitting as yet have not appear'd nor do I believe it will as I have reason to think that partly prejudice is the reason of our not selling as quick as might been expected from the cargoe.

The ship is at a great expence as I have not provision but as I [illegible] daily which will make the disburstments large but that I cannot help as they must have vittles.

I have got a house and with the slaves ashoar this 15 or 16 days as everyone thought it would have been a hurricane from the extreme bad weather we had, made every ship that has slaves get them ashoar. I cannot form any time when I shall go over to clean the ship as the sale is so slow but will when the slaves is reduced to 40 or 50.

2 October 1756

The above is a copy of a letter sent by a brig for Liverpool and looking over my letter from Barbadoes find I had wrote and delivered it as the *Worcester* was to sail that morning but was disappointed. I had not settled with Mr Hunter and being obliged to sail in a hurry omitted the advising you the draft & hundred pounds sterling & favour of him as no doubt Captain Wattings have informed you of my people jumping overboard to go a privateering.

I have drawn for two of the people that whent aboard the *Spinks* ship of war for some part of wages. William Bevin five pounds seven shillings sterling. Erasmus Ramsey six pounds thirteen shillings sterling. There is just 200 Negroes sold the amount of sales £9,700. I hope you won't take it amiss of my entering Mr Haller as home master to have the second mate which have been in the imploy a long time and is a good officer as is all the rest.

9 October 1756

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498 Cheltenham, a spa town, had a 'chalybeate' spring that produced mineral waters that were sold in bottles. Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa 1560-1815: A Social History* (London, 1990), pp. 179, 182.

499 A Bristol slave ship captain. Sheryllynne Haggerty, *Ordinary People, Extraordinary Times: Living the British Empire in Jamaica, 1756* (Montreal and Kingston, ON, 2023), p. 21. For Miller's activities on Bristol slave trading voyages, see Nicholas Rogers, *Maritime Bristol in the Slave-Trade Era* (Woodbridge, 2024), pp. 47-8.

500 The *Black Prince*, William Miller and Pat Holloran masters, left Bristol on 16 Sept. 1755, embarked 383 imputed slaves at Anomabu, disembarked 328 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 13 June 1757. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 91; voyage ID 17386 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Since the above copys that whent by a brig for Liverpool and the *Duke* packet there is 36 Negroes sold which makes 236 the sale amounts to £11,454. There is a snow from the Windward Coast with 140 slaves arrived two days agoe.[501] One of my women have got the smallpox. I put her out to sick lodgings as soon as it appeared. She is in a good way.

[51] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 30/259, John & Alexander Harvie,[502] Kingston, to James Laroche & Co, owners of the *Black Prince*, Bristol, 3 October 1756

Our last to you was of the 2nd ultimo, by Captain Cowan, of which we sent you two copies, one by Captain Dalton for London, and the other by Captain Lewis for your place. We then advised you of the progress we had made in the sale of your Negroes and we have now little to do but to annex an account of what we have since sold which we shall do. We have not sold near so many as we expected, which has been owing, as an addition to the other causes, to the excessive rains which we have had for these three weeks past. It may be said to have rained without intermission so that few of the country people could get to town. These accidents we cannot help. We can only say we shall spare no pains to make the speediest & best sale of them that we possibly can.

We are at present in a very disagreeable situation. The French have a squadron at Hispaniola greatly superior to ours here and this the ministry have known for some time, yet they have not sent us any reinforcement. We cannot help looking upon this as very strange conduct, though at the same time we are greatly obliged to the French for we do not as yet hear that they have so much as taken one of our vessels, though they have had it in their power to intercept our whole trade. We wish they may not be meditating some more severe stroke.

As yet none of the prize goods are sold, but they talk of beginning to sell them soon, and it is said the captains of the men of war intend being large purchasers thenmselves. If so, we believe they will go too high for any body here to medle with them. Bite Negroes are now wanted for exportation and we believe the demand will continue but we wish there may not a Windward or Gold Coast Negroe arrive for six months as nothing can bring our Markett on a proper footing or make the factors any way easy but some respite.

9 October 1756

We have nothing to add to the preceding but to annex an account of the further progress which we have made in the sale of your Negroes to assure you that we are with the most perfect esteem.

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501 The *Hothersall*, John Barrow master, John Birley owner, left Liverpool on 10 Sept. 1755, embarked 158 imputed slaves at the Windward Coast, disembarked 135 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool in Apr. 1757. Voyage ID 24926 in www.slavevoyages.org.

502 Alexander Harvie was a Scottish merchant and factor (d. 3 July 1756) based first in Barbados and then (from 1751, with his brother John) in Jamaica. His inventory was valued at £95,992 6s 6d. Alexander and John Harvie sold four consignments of 441 slaves at Kingston between 22 Sept. 1752 and 22 Dec. 1753. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 316; Sheryllynne Haggerty, *Ordinary People, Extraordinary Times: Living the British Empire in Jamaica in 1756* (Montreal and Kingston, ON, 2023), p. 36; Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, p. 77.

Date	To whom sold	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Price	
October 2	Sundries	201	124	31	36	10		£9,758
5	Henry Dawkins	2			2		46	92
	William Beckford[503]	16	6				50	300
				6			48	288
					4		45 10	182
6	John Hall	6	2	1	2	1	47	282
7	John McLeod	4	4				50	200
8	John Campbell	7	6				do	300
		236	142	38	45	11		£11,448

[52] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 30/259, John & Alexander Harvie, Kingston, to William Wansey & Co.,[504] Bristol, 9 October 1756

Our last to you was of July 24th by the conveyances and at that time we expected to have ballnced your account long before this, but we really have not been able to get bills. We now enclose you 1st bill of the three draughts of James Watson's on Mr Mark Davis, one for £200, one for £100 and the other for £50 in all £300 sterling dated the 6th instant at 60 days' sight, and we expect to receive bills sufficient to balance your account before we close this letter if we do we shall send them to you if not they shall come by the next opp[ortuni]ty.

We have sold the negroe woman that was left for £30 but we are sorry to inform you that the two in the yaws[505] have never yet been fit to show and we most heartily wish that they had not been left. One of them it is thought will die but that the other will do well.

The demand for Gold Coast negroes is still slack but Bites[506] are wanted for exportation.

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503 William Beckford, a wealthy Jamaican planter. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1762 and 1769 and served as M.P. for the City of London for fifteen years between 1754 and 1770. A prominent member of the West India interest, he was known as Alderman Beckford. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 218; Richard B. Sheridan, 'William Beckford (bap. 1709 d. 1770)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 4, pp. 728-30; R. S. Lea, 'Beckford, Wiliam (1709-1770) of Fonthill Abbey, nr. Hindon, Wilts.' in Sedgwick, ed., *House of Commons, 1715-1754*, vol. 1, pp. 451-2. For a detailed study of his career, see Perry Gauci, *William Beckford: First Prime Minister of the London Empire* (New Haven, CT, 2013).

504 William Wansey was a Bristol merchant. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, pp. 116, 253, 261-2, 272, 426, 509.

505 A debilitating, and sometimes fatal, disease associated with slaves. West Indian plantations often had yaws houses where sufferers would be confined and medically treated. Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 138-40.

506 i.e. captives from the Bight of Biafra.

[53] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 30/259, Alexander Robe[507] to Betty, 12 October 1756

About an hour agoe I received yours of June 26th with great satisfaction as it informed me of my Betty's health & little ones though I have lately wrote you so many letters yet I could not lett slip this opportunity to inform you of my health & that of us all which thank God is pretty well hope to sail in sometime next month & tho the gentlemen promise to get better for me yet we shall bring home goods on the ship's account think it will be proper to get somewhat insured.

I see you got some insurance at last on the Middle Passage which was right though we happened to escape the enemy.[508] God grant we may do it home but believe me if I dread that & the cold weather much. I do not write my owners by this. If they should enquire the slaves are not yet all sold but hope they soon will. Remember me kindly to all friends & sister Maddy. I shall be glad she is settled in any good way & do everything in my power to contribute to it, as I know my Betty will. My blessing to my poor little ones. I pray God may bless you & them & send us once again a happy meeting. I remain my ever dearest girl your loving & affectionate husband.

[54] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Inventory of the *Molly's* cargo to Bonny, 1759,[509] Account book of the *Molly*

20 blunderbusses	80 bars
600 musquetts	1800
?918 baggs of powder	2877
200 neptunes	600
547 bars of iron	547
21 bafts	94 ½
547 chelloes	2461 ½
465 niccanees	1627 ½
310 romalls	930
8 coopees	24
2 bejudipotts	9
1 siletias	2
1 cuhsttee	3 ½
1 cottonee	8
2 chinees	9
2 remnants of cloth	20
6000 arrangoes	150
60 wicker'd bottles brandy	120
50 juggs of brandy	100
50 caggs of brandy	100

507 A Bristol ship captain. Sheryllynne Haggerty, *Ordinary People, Extraordinary Times: Living the British Empire in Jamaica, 1756* (Montreal and Kingston, ON, 2023), pp. 19, 24, 75, 85.

508 Presumably this refers to French privateers.

509 The *Molly*, William Jenkins master, Henry Bright & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1758, purchased slaves at Bonny, sold 238 slaves in Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 22 Nov. 1759. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 116. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17441 in www.slavevoyages.org: the ship left Bristol on 4 Dec. 1758 and embarked 286 imputed slaves at Bonny.

3 casks of manillas	195
375 copper rods	93 ¾
20 dozen of hats	120
170 dozen worsted capps	510
10 gross of knives	72
881 barrs of lead	220
60 iron potts	50
10,000 gunflints	50
390 lb beads	50
1885 gallons of brandy casks	1257
[Total] 14184 ¾	

[55] University of Bristol Library, Special Collections, D. M. 1061, James Laroche, Richard Farr & Son,[510] Samuel Munckley[511] and John Gresley[512], Bristol, to Stephen Blizard and William Warner, St Kitts, 20 June 1762

You have been advised by our partner J[ames] L[aroche] the receipt of our sundry letters relating to our ship *Cornwall* under the command of Captain Duncomb[513] & that all the bills you have remitted us were duly accepted.

We have given directions to Captain Duncomb to proceed from the Gold Coast to your island[514] & to your address & we hope that you will see him soon after the receipt of this letter, with a fine cargoe of Negroes, which you will be pleased to dispose of provided you can obtain £33 sterling per head on such terms as you and Captain Duncomb shall agree, otherwise he is to proceed to Jamaica, though we prefer a sale with you.

In case you dispose of them you will be pleased to procure a full loading for our ship on freight to this place, & to remit the nett proceeds of the Negroes in bills of exchange payable here or in London. In case you cannot get a freight for our ship you may load on our accounts 100 hogsheads of the best sugars, taking care of the quality that they be of a good grain. We flatter ourselves that there will be a great demand for Negroes at Antigua as there has been so large a number of ships taken on the Windward & Gold Coast, & that there will be a great demand from Martenico & Guadeloupe.[515] We make no doubt of your best endeavours to render us a pleasing account of sales.

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510 Richard Farr (1708-82) was the leading Bristol merchant for 37 slaving voyages between 1726 and 1745. His son, Richard Farr junior, was the leading Bristol merchant for 20 slaving voyages between 1747 and 1772. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, p. 29.

511 Samuel Munckley (c.1724-1801) was a Bristol merchant and a founding member of the Harford bank, Bristol. He was a partner in John Freeman's Copper Company. A Presbyterian and a Whig, he was master of SMV in 1768. Cave, *History of Banking*, pp. 90-1, 93, 221; Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, pp. 36, 62, 137, 153-5, 160-2, 164-6.

512 A Bristol shipowner. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 409 n. 522.

513 The *Cornwall*, James Laroche owner, Joseph White and Thomas Duncombe captains, left Bristol on 14 Sept. 1761, intended to embark slaves at the Gold Coast and the Windward Coast, landed 392 slaves at St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 7 Sept. 1762. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 140; voyage ID 17501 in www.slavevoyages.org.

514 Presumably, as the above note suggests, this was St Kitts.

515 This implies that French merchants and planters in Guadeloupe and Martinique would purchase some slaves in Antigua, a British possession.

If you sell the Negroes you will be pleased to supply the half wages & port charges & to pay him 4 out of every 104 nett proceeds of the Negroes together with one shilling per head to the surgeon for as many Negroes as are sold, & moreover you will be pleased to account with Captain Duncombe for his private adventure in the cargoe of £225 in proportion of £6,200 amounts of the whole cargoe shall produce, deducting the charges, your commission on the sale, & his coast commissions, sending us his several receipts for the same, and we hope you will not charge him commission for sales & returns on his proportion.

[56] Bristol Archives, acc. 45933/4, Extracts from the Log Book of the *Black Prince*, 18-27 November 1762[516]

Thursday 18 November 1762 This 24 hours fair. Loosed the sails to air. Put the goods in the boat. At 4 a.m. she left the ship bound down to leeward. Sent the pinnace to Annamboe for slaves. At 9 she returned with 17 and just then 2 of the people that went in the long boat came on board in a little boat.

Friday 19 November 1762 Belonging to Captain Kenny's schooner which they took up about 3 leagues to leeward off Annamaboe with 2 women slaves. Sent the pinnace[517] to longboat and brought the women on board which belong to Captain Cummings of the ship *Spencer* and had swam from her in the night and took the boat from astern of the schooner putting the rigging to rights. This 24 hours fair. Making some small rope. A.M. Hove up the small bower anchor which had lost the buoy off it. Let go the best bower. At 11 Mr Brew[518] and several other gentlemen came on board to dine. Saluted him with 75 guns as did the ship *Phoenix*.

Saturday 20 November 1762 This 24 hours fair. Cut off the clinch off the stream cable. At 5 p.m. the company went on shoar to Mr Brew as he wanted to send some slaves to Lagoe[519] to the longboat to take to Acraw.[520] Hoisted out the yawl.

Sunday 21 November 1762 This 24 hours fair. Hoisted in the yawl and set the carpenters to caulk and [illegible]. At 11 a.m. Captain Stroud in the sloop saild. Pointed the end of the cable. No trade.

Monday 22 November 1762 This 24 hours fair. Making small rope horse buckets. Mending the hatches. At 6 a.m. the pinnace came up from the boat at Lagoe. She had got no slaves.

Tuesday 23 November 1762 This 24 hours fair. A.m. See a large ship off Cape

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516 This is a small set of extracts from a journal that was commenced on 24 Apr. 1762. Commentary on the eight slaving voyages of the *Black Prince* can be found in Nicholas Rogers, *Blood Waters: War, Disease and Race in the Eighteenth-Century British Caribbean* (Woodbridge, 2021), pp. 84-101.

517 A small boat taken on board the slaving vessel from England and lowered into the sea off the west African coast where barriers of sand (bars) or shallow water necessitated their use. Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, p. 157.

518 Richard Brew was a member of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa who later became an independent trader at Anomabu and one of the leading slave traders on the Gold Coast in the 1750s. Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*, pp. 4-5. For more on Brew see two studies by Margaret Priestley: 'Richard Brew: An Eighteenth-Century trader at Anomabu,' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1959), pp. 29-46, and *West African Trade and Coast Society: a Family Study* (London, 1969).

519 A trading town situated about two miles from Tantumquerry Fort and twenty-three miles east of Annamaboe. Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*, p. 253.

520 i.e. Accra.

Coast under sail. She proved to be the Dutch Company Ship going down to Accra. In heaving down[521] Captain Binneys she overset. Sent the pinnace to her assistance. Got her alongside of the ship and hove her up.

Wednesday 24 November 1762 This 24 hours very cloudy but no rain. Washed the [illegible] and left making small rope spun yarn and a new main top gallant sail. No trade. Loosed the sails to air.

Thursday 25 November 1762 This 24 hours heavy dull sultry weather. The cooper making half barrels for powder. Making [illegible] for the top gallant sails. Two longboats came into the road. Captain Dennis and Captain [illegible].

Friday 26 November 1762 This 24 hours fair but very sultry. The people employed drawing yarns making springs and platting.

Saturday 27 November 1762 This 24 hours fair. The people employed in making some small ropes. Finished the top gallant sails. Put them overboard to wet and bound them to the sprit sail yard to dry.

[57] The National Archives, Kew, HCA 1/59, Examination in relation to the *Jolly Prince*,[522] 1764

The examination of Martin Gillman late second mate of the ship *Jolly Prince* taken before the Worshipfull Arthur Collier Doctor of Laws one of the Commissioners for oyer & terminer[523] & gaol delivery for the Admiralty of England in the dining room adjoining to the common hall of doctors commons London on Wednesday the twenty second day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

This examinant sayeth that on or about the 17th day of May in the year of our Lord 1764 he shipped & hired himself as second mate and boatswain of the ship *Jolly Prince* and proceeded from Bristol to the coast of Africa where he arrived on the 19th day of July following and stopped at the Adleys where the said ship wooded and watered & thence to Sierra Leon thence to Cape Mount[524] where she stayed about a fortnight and having sprung a leak thence returned to Sierra Leon and thence returned to Cape Mount where she procured about 9 or 10 slaves and having continued about six weeks sailed to the Windward having buried two of her crew and came to the Chetan shore having procured about forty slaves and came to an anchor at Williams Town[525] where the said ship untill December and this examinant saieth that on or about the 26th day of December following the master of the said ship *Jolly Prince* sent this examinant with three others in the boat to fetch some rice which this examinant accordingly did & brought three traders with him & that when the captain had settled accounts with the said traders he ordered one Durmfey the chief mate to convey the traders on shore and this examinant to store away the rice and that he this examinant

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521 i.e. swelling on the ocean.

522 The *Jolly Prince*, Patrick Holloran master, James Laroche Jr & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1763, purchased slaves at Old Calabar, sold them at St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 13 Feb. 1764. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 161. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17553 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 8 May 1763, embarked 276 imputed slaves at Calabar and disembarked 209 imputed slaves at St Kitts.

523 A commission on a circuit for judges to hold courts.

524 Now near the border between Liberia and Sierra Leone.

525 Situated 16 miles south-east of Freetown, the modern capital of Sierra Leone.

went into the forecastle in order thereto and a white man standing on the scuttle[526] handed the rice to a black boy who handed the same to this examinant that whilst this examinant was so employed he heard a very loud noise and heard the white man on the scuttle cry out that he then apprehending the slaves had rose endeavoured to jump up on the deck but one of the slaves making a blow at his head & he stooping to avoid the same the slave closed the scuttle & fastned it down that whilst this examinant was so confined he heard the slaves cut the cable and found the ship under sail and that in about an hour and a half the ship struck on the shore. When this deponent hearing no noise broke through the bulkhead into the main hold and thence this examinant lifted up the hatch where he saw one of the slaves standing with a new gun and a cutlace in his hand that he made a stroke at this examinant who avoided the same by stooping and in about five minutes after this examinant got upon the deck of the said ship and he perceived no person but saw the captain's hat laying abaft and the natives of Williams Town swimming backwards and forwards from the ship to the shore that one of the natives called to this examinant. He got upon the boom but not being able to swim called for help when a man assisted this examinant in getting ashore that this examinant was quite naked and the man ordered the examinant to sit down just above high water mark with four slaves & told him to sit down and wait for that he was going on board the ship that he accordingly did go on board and in about two hours returned with some cases of liquor from the ship and conducted this examinant to his own town and kept him in his house & the next morning gave this examinant a shirt and a pair of stockings and took him to the King's town about four miles distant that a palaver[527] or trial was held on this examinant by the King and others the result whereof was that he should go back & live with the man who took him & make trade for him & this examinant accordingly went back with him to his house where he continued for about four months trading for him when this examinant ran away and went about 9 miles on the beach where this examinant was stopped by King Bundo's people who carried him to the king's house. That King Bundo told this examinant that if he would not stay with him he would send him back to Jemmy the man who first took him that this examinant continued with King Bundo about 8 or 9 months trading that during this time he three times endeavoured to escape and being taken the third time this deponent was chained around the neck & marked in both his temples. That soon after Captain Pemberton came in a trading vessel on the coast when King Bundo & men put this examinant into a boat and conveyed him on board Captain Pemberton's ship where he continued about two months and arrived at the Bannanas.[528] That this examinant asked Captain Pemberton to carry him to the West Indies which Captain Pemberton refused that the *Pitt* cutter Lieutenant Osbridge arriving there where he remained about a week in irons took this examinant on board and that Captain Pemberton making a complaint of his living with the Negroes that the said *Pitt* cutter then proceeded to Sierra Leon where she arrived and anchored

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526 i.e. container.

527 The name given for an attempt to resolve a dispute, which was a common feature of the slave trade in parts of coastal west Africa. Sean Kelley, 'The Dirty Business of Panyarring and Palaver: Slave Trading on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Eighteenth Century' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, p. 99.

528 Two small islands off the Sierra Leone coast favoured by slave traders owing to their perceived healthy climate and ready access to commodities and slaves. Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-1808,' ibid., pp. 35-6.

closely by the *Phoenix* ship of war on board which this examinant was sent on the 16th day of March last. That Commodore Cleveland the commander of the said ship *Phoenix* then examined this examinant & put him on the ships books & rated him as a seaman and bade him go upon deck and told him he was sorry for him that he remained on board said ship as a seaman until his arrival at Spithead[529] and was paid wages for such service and that on the 2nd day of August last Captain Macartney ordered this examinant to be put in irons & brought him up to London.

Taken before me Arthur Collier Martin Gillman

On the same day the judge having examined the said Martin Gillman ordered him to be immediately discharged without paying any fees which I attest

John Cumberledge notary public

[58] University of Bristol Library, Special Collections, D. M. 1061, Captain David Duncombe, Bristol, to Captain John Chilcot, March 1767, David Duncombe letters

I hope this will meet you well at Dominica, and that everything has happened to your wishes & expectations since we parted, and that you will be in time for Virginia, from whence I think there are greater encouragements than when you went away. If you shoud have the smallpox aboard or be otherwise very sickly, you will then judge best what to do according to the hints given you in the owners letter, wherein they woud not have been so explicit, but in case of an accident to you. But hope nothing will happen & prevent your going to Virginia, if you shoud be in time, unless a great offer in Dominica (which is not very likely) but in that case it would be imprudent to refuse it. The bond from Messrs Farrell & Jones[530] you'l see is alterd, and made more bonding, and more to our advantage, and by their readiness to alter it & security being offerd from another house, with still better terms, it appears to me slaves will be in demand when you get there.

I have wrote to Colonel Randolph since you went away, and hope you will have letters waiting you from that gentleman when you get to Dominica, with some of the houses there, that may be as encouraging, or more so than any you have from us and hope that everything will happen to your expectation. The outset of the *Cornwall*[531] & *Juba*[532] was settled last week. The *Cornwall*'s £2006 16 9 exclusive of the ship; the cargoe £5746 10 9, which will make the whole amount to £8953. The *Juba* ship & outfit £2021 15 4. The cargoe £3053 18 8 in all 5074 14 both which is pretty near our

529 A roadstead on the Solent.

530 A leading firm in the Bristol-Chesapeake tobacco trade, active between 1760 and 1778. Joseph Farrell came from Virginia. William Jones was master SMV 1770. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 161; Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 170.

531 The *Cornwall*, John Chilcott master, James Laroche & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1766, purchased slaves in Angola, sold slaves at St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 1 Feb. 1768. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 200. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17644 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 20 Sept. 1766, embarked 386 imputed slaves at West Central Africa and disembarked 351 imputed slaves at Charleston.

532 The *Juba*, Joseph White master, James Laroche & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1766, purchased slaves at Cape Benda, the river Ambris and the Congo in Angola, sold either 207 or 300 at Upper James River, Virginia, and returned to Bristol on 9 Jan. 1769. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 202. Another source states that the ship embarked 242 imputed slaves at Cabinda, Ambriz and Congo River, in West Central Africa. Voyage ID 17650 in www.slavevoyages.org.

expectation, and you know we hinted to you that you get the bills divided in eighths as they will be easier divided and will save the alderman trouble as he is now in years. You know and we are told that Angola slaves are preferable to any other country slaves at Virginia except Gold Coast which are sold or carried there and the terms of payment are far preferable to any we can get for any part of the West Indies.[533] I hope you have had your health & that your officers and people have been to your liking, and that your voyages will turn out to your wishes.

I send you with this a letter from Mrs Chilcot.

[59] Bristol University Library, Special Collections, D. M. 1061, Captain David Duncombe to Captain Joseph White, March 1767, David Duncombe letters

The reason of my writing you soo soon to the Grenades[534] is in case Captain Chilcot should send you off the coast before the *Cornwall*: if it should be so, I hope this will meet you well and everything aboard to your wishes, and that you will be able after supplying yourself with such things as are absolutely needful for your passage, especially water, to proceed immediately to Virginia where at present there is great encouragement, and is the market intended from the beginning in the *Cornwall* or *Juba*, whichever should leave the coast first. The owners write you to this effect by this opportunity with a copy of the bond given here by Messrs. Watson & Weare[535] for Messrs. Burnley & Braikenridge in York River Hanover County where there is no doubt but you will meet with a good sale, but if you should have any epidemicall disease on board that you think you cannot proceed forth without a manifest risque to the owners disadvantage then you must do the best for the owners according to their letters: but if your slaves are in any tolerable order and you may be a little sickly, I believe you may take a little time to put your sick slaves ashore, clean your ship, recruit your well slaves aboard with what nourishment & refreshment you think best and can be had, and at your going away take aboard what slaves you think will recover and not bring a fresh infection, and sell those at vendue you think will not recover & can be shown at first, but leave none unsold when you leave the Grenades.

You know in my last voyage I had a raging flux aboard when I came to Antigua. I put all the sick slaves ashore, cleaned the ship, altered their diet, and as fast as any were taken ill, I sent them ashore. The distemper eased. I took many slaves aboard I thought were recovered and at my going away sold all the slaves I thought would not recover based on a fresh infection on board the ship. I had no sickness or buried a single slave after, but this took up 14 days.

If you should be living I have scarcely occasion to be so particular as you are well acquainted with the method I used to take when you was with me; it is proper to provide again the worst but I hope none of the cases here proved against will be yours, but that you will be in a condition to proceed directly to Virginia, which the owners will be glad of, & I doubt not your best endeavours in every respect for the good of the voyage.

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533 The African regional origins of slaves imported into Virginia are tabulated in Lorena S. Walsh, 'The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications,' *WMQ*, 58, no. 1 (2001), pp. 166-7.

534 i.e. Grenada.

535 Bristol shipowners. Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port*, p. 112.

[60] University of Bristol Library, Special Collections, D. M. 1061, Captain David Duncomb, Bristol, to [Captain John Chilcott], July 1767

The owners have received your letter of January & February from Cabenda, & concerned to hear the calamitous state you found the coast in what mortall coud have conjectured the number of ships you was to meet with. You will have a long stay, & a trial of patience, but keep up your spirits, as while you live. The owners are sensible of your capacity & are confident every proper method will be taken for the best. The event be left to time & chance. The *Juba* & *Bettsy*[536] I hope have brought you good stock of provisions. I told White to buy all the rice he coud put away, & the *Bettsy* I think had orders to lay in a good stock of corn.

We know not how you intend to dispose of the *Cornwall* or *Juba* but fear you will not be able to have either one or other of them ready in time for a Virginia market. The *Bettsy* I have been wishing you may have sent again the tour of the Windward & Gold Coast chiefly for rice & corn, & what other little trade she might be able to pick up, with what cargoe you might be able to pick up among the ships that was suitable, & so return to you her provisions; but this is all speculation, as you that are on the spot must be the best judge of what is to be done.

I cannot tell you what markets you may expect at Dominica, Antigua or St Kitts. Borthwick has sold at Dominica @ 26 or 27. The *Andrews*[537] at St Kitts £25 10s. & Peter Furnell[538] tells me if you was there he coud do very well with you, but that is precarious, though he has sold the *Greenwich*[539] at £48 10s all round. The owners are collecting you all the intelligence they can for your arrival at Dominica, when you will hear our encouragement lately from Virginia all very poor, though the *Juba* or Brig I believe might do well enough. You will judge what is best to have on your arrival, & God direct you for the best.

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536 The *Betsey*, Basil Maxwell and John Chilcott captains, David Hamilton owner, left Bristol on 19 Sept. 1766, embarked 386 imputed slaves in West Central Africa, disembarked 351 imputed slaves at Charleston, and returned to Bristol on 17 Mar. 1768. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 198; voyage ID 17638 in www.slavevoyages.org.

537 The *Andrews,* John Neilson and Archibald Robe captains, David Hamilton owner, left Bristol on 1 June 1766, embarked 276 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 209 imputed slaves at St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 26 June 1767. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p.197; voyage ID 17636 in www.slavevoyages.org.

538 A merchant and factor in Kingston. He handled five consignments amounting to 1,148 slaves at Kingston between 22 Sept. 1752 and 22 Dec. 1753. He owned 159 acres and 52 slaves in St Andrew parish, Jamaica, in 1753. His probate inventory in Jamaica in 1769 was £16,772 in Jamaican currency. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, pp. 55, 65, 80; Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, p. 77; 'Peter Furnell,' Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146655477).

539 The *Greenwich*, Robert Cowie and Benjamin Smith captains, Richard and Paul Farr owners, left Bristol on 4 Feb. 1766, embarked 275 imputed slaves at Anomabu, disembarked 235 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 17 July 1767. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 201; voyage ID 17646 in www.slavevoyages.org.

The *King David*[540] & *Concord*[541] are like to have a good time at Old Calabar, & the *Marlbro*[542] on the Gold Coast as well as Boucher who is at Annamaboe with her. Little encouragement from any other part of the coast.

Mrs Chilcot has been in the country some time with her friends, & one or other of Mrs Palmer's family are in the house till her return. All friends are well, and as you will hear from your brother I forbear particulars, only wish you health & better times.

[61] Bristol University Library, Special Collections, D. M. 15, Estimates of a cargo for 500 Negroes to Benin, 1769

89 strings real coral 500 oz @ 14s	
14 strings ditto 122 @ 20s	
4 strings ditto 34 @ 23s	
4 bunches round corral 329 @ 14s	
6 branches 14 @ 9s	
6,000 pieces of branch ditto @ 2d per branch [oz 1,003 corral]	£800 10s
64 pipe mock corral	
83 ditto very large @ 5s	36 15s
1,420 arangos @ £6 per m	85 4s
10,000 mock arangos no. 1 @ £6	60
4,000 ditto no. 2 @ £8	32
6,000 ditto 3 no. 4 @ £14	42
2,000 ditto no. 6 @ £5	10
440 pound white round beads	16 10s
1,200 ditto red pipe	45
750 ditto green ditto	20 2s 6d
700 ditto lemon ditto	26 5s
400 dove ditto	15
3,490	1,197 6s 6d
1,000 bunches large red garnet no. 4 @ 1s 6d	75
1,000 ditto large white ditto no. 4 @ 1s 6d	75

540 The *King David*, Thomas Lewis and Benjamin Patey captains, Michael Miller owner, left Bristol on 2 Dec. 1766, embarked 276 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked an imputed 209 slaves at St Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 22 Jan. 1768. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 203; Voyage ID 17651 in www.slavevoyages.org.

541 The *Concord*, William Bishop and – Gardner, captains, David Duncomb owner, left Bristol on 8 Nov. 1766, embarked 330 imputed slaves at Calabar, and disembarked 250 imputed slaves at Dominica. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 200; Voyage ID 17643 in www.slavevoyages.org.

542 The *Marlborough*, John Marshall captain, Richard & Thomas Farr owners, left Bristol on 27 Sept. 1766, embarked 306 imputed slaves at Anomabu, landed 250 slaves at Kingston, and was then shipwrecked or destroyed. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 3*, p. 204; Voyage ID 17654 in www.slavevoyages.org.

200 ditto harlequin @ 2s	20
150 ditto black points @ 2s	15
140 ditto white barleycorn	7
1,000 china white aggats	say 12
260 oval china red flowers	30
1,060 blue ditto	159
300 small sky blue with stripes 4 strings	15
	1,605 6s 6d

[62] Bristol University Library, Special Collections, D. M. 15, Estimates of a cargo for the *Hungerford* to New Calabar for 400 Negroes, May 1769

	£	Barrs
850 muskets say	276 5s	2,550
450 blunderbuses	218 15s	1,800
170 barrels gunpowder	684	5,400
400 chillos Manchester allej. pattern	320	1,800
300 photase	292 10s	1,050
50 niconeas	34 15s	175
1,200 cotton romals	600	3,600
20 silk romals	38	180
32 punchons brandy	300	2,000
30 tons iron	660	3,500
400 neptunes	550	1,200
2,000 barrel angos pale	75	400
4,000 bunches barleycorn beads	110	11,000
600 bunches mock corral	65	600
100 dozen hats	60	600
1/2 ton lead barrs	27	250
1/2 ton small shott	8 15s	100
14 groce of knives	25	100
200 iron potts	18	250
150 b. common pound beads	12 12s	120
	£4,804 12s	28,475

[63] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Portledge bill for the *Hector*,[543] 1770, Account book of the *Hector*

Name	Rank	Wages per month (pounds and shillings)[544]	Wages advanced	Privilege
1.William Llewellin	Captain	5		
2. Jacob Patterson	1st mate	4	8	
3. Robert Mein	Surgeon	4	8	
4. Patrick McDonough	2nd mate	3	6	
5. Richard Hurman	3rd mate	2.10	10.5	
6. Francis Clements	Boatswain	2.5	4.10	
7. Nicholas White	Carpenter	4	8.6	
8. John Middleton	Cooper	3	6	
9. John Sellick	Cooper	2.5	4.10	
10. Thomas Knott	Gunner	1.10	3	
11.James Robinson	Surgeon's mate	1.10	3	
12. James Mc-----	Tailor	1.8	2.16	
13. Darby Bedman	Cook	1.10	2.3	
14. William Pring	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
15. Hugh Ridley	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
16. John Newton	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
17. John Moyes	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
18. John Lee	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
19. Joseph Prac	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
20. Samuel Hall	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
21. Samuel Pullen	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
22. John Murphy	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
23. Daniel Killiway	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
24. Daniel Callbrock	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
25.William Mitchell	Seaman	1.5	2.10	
26.Thomas Lewis	Half seaman	1.2	2.4	
27.Evan Williams	Half seaman	1.2	2.4	

543 The *Hector*, William Llewellin master, left Bristol on 3 Sept. 1770, intended to load 360/370 slaves, embarked 386 imputed slaves in West Central Africa, landed 280 slaves at Charleston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1771. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 6; voyage ID 17753 in www.slavevoyages.org.

544 For average monthly wages for captains, mates and other seamen in Bristol's overall trade in 1787, see Jonathan Press, *The Merchant Seamen of Bristol, 1747-1789* (Bristol, 1976), p. 5.

28.Griffith Hughes	Landsman	1	2	
29. Arthur Leary	Landsman	.18	1.16	
30. John Erwin	Landsman	.18	1.16	
31.William Morris	Boy	.14	1.8	
32.Isaac Woodly	Half seaman	1.2	2.4	
33.John Gill	Boy	1	2	
34.Peter Brothers	Boy	1	2	
35.Joseph Cockle	Boy	1	2	
36.Thomas Blake	Boy	.12	1.4	
37.Thomas Frampton	Landsman	.18	1.16	

[64] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Thomas Deane & John Chilcott, Bristol, to Captain William Llewellin, 28 February 1771, Account book of the *Hector*

We hope this will meet you off Carolina with a good & healthy cargo of Negroes & be consigned to you by Messrs Brewton & Co.[545] where you are to apply as per your former orders & deliver them our cargo of Negroes if they think they will average thirty three or four pounds sterling. We don't mean by this that they are obliged to average them as that, only as a matter of opinion. But if they are in good order & will stand to go to Virginia we think it would be better than to stay at Carolina at a less average. But this we leave in some measure to you as being on the spot, for if you think your slaves are not in condition to proceed to Virginia, stay at Carolina at all events & let them be sold for the most they will fetch. Neither must you proceed to Virginia after the last of August if you should be so unlucky as to be detained on the coast so as not to reach Carolina by that time.

Inclosed is a copy of your letter to Messrs Brewton & Co. The remittance is all by the ship in bills of three, six, nine & twelve months sight (except the ship's loading). If you load rice see it's good before ship'd as it ought to be the very best for this market. If naval stores take 200 barrels pitch & fill her up with turpentine green tar & staves. Let the greatest part be green tar if to be had. Hogshead & pipe staves are most in demand.

If you should go to Virginia, proceed to Hampton Road[546] with the ship & send a message to Mr Richard Hanson[547] at Petersburgh to acquaint him you are arrived, & to him you are to deliver our cargo of Negroes & proceed to what place he may order you for your sale. Dispatch wherever you go, be frugal in your disburstments &

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545 Miles Brewton (1731-75) was a wealthy Charleston merchant who, with various business partners, imported various slave cargoes there. In 1764-5 Brewton & Smith imported fourteen slave cargoes. Between 1761 and 1768 Smith, Brewton & Smith imported two slave cargoes. In 1769 Brewton, Doyley & Brewton imported seven slave cargoes. Between 1771 and 1774 Miles Brewton imported eighteen slave cargoes. W. Robert Higgins, 'Charles Town Merchants and Factors dealing in the External Negro Trade 1735-1775,' *SCHM*, 65, no. 4 (1964), pp. 206-7.

546 A body of water that serves as a wide channel for the James, Nansemond and Elizabeth rivers, Virginia.

547 A Virginia factor who exported tobacco. Robert Polk Thomson, 'The Tobacco Export of the Upper James Naval District, 1773-1775,' *WMQ*, 18, no. 3 (1961), pp. 398-9, 406.

advise us of your proceedings by every opportunity.

P.S. If you fill any water at Carolina get it at Hobcaw[548] for all the water in & about the town is [cannot read] & without care will flux your Negroes.[549]

[65] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Owners to Alexander, James & Evan Baillie,[550] 28 February 1771, Account book of the *Hector*

Our ship *Hector* Captain William Llewellin sailed from here 3rd October last for Angola where we expect she will purchase three hundred & sixty or seventy Negroes and if he wants any provisions or refreshments he have our orders to call at St Christophers on you, which we beg the favour of you to supply him with, for which his bills will be duly honour'd & dispatch him immediately for Carolina unless you will engage to turn out his cargo at thirty-two pounds sterling round & make all the remittance by the ship in good bills of exchange at three, six, nine & twelve months in equal proportion & dispatch the ship at six weeks at farthest. If you can comply with the above terms, he have his orders to deliver his cargo to you & take your bond for the performance. Should you sell the *Hector*s cargo please to supply the captain with money to pay his port charges half wages &c. The captain's commission is 6/ & no privilege slaves the first mate three privilege slaves doctor 3 ditto & 2nd mate 1 ditto, all on an average with the cargo now to be chosen, which is so much in your favour. We hope she will bring a good cargo that may tempt you to take them. Although its high limits for St Christophers it's rather low for Grenada & Dominica & we think your market must rise in proportion especially as all the northern markets are open.

[66] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Thomas Deane & John Chilcott, Bristol, to Miles Brewton & Co., Charleston, 28 February 1771, Account book of the *Hector*

Our ship *Hector* Captain William Llewellin sailed from here 3rd October last for Angola & we expect she will purchase three hundred & sixty or seventry Negroes & is orderd to proceed directly off your barr, without stopping anywhere, to your address, but not to go over the barr until he hears from you for if you don't think you can average his cargo at thirty three or four pounds sterling please to supply him with what refreshments he may want & let him proceed directly to Virginia, but we think your market cannot be overstocked with Negroes as the *Betsey* & the *Hector* are the only English ships now at Angola & Negroes sell so high in the islands that few people will run the risque of the passage to Carolina.

We have taken a bond for the remittance from your friends Messrs Farrs at three, six, nine & twelve months who suppose will make you acquainted with it. If you sell the *Hector*s cargo pray dispatch the ship as soon as possible & fill her in the hold with

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548 Situated near Charleston, South Carolina, on the peninsula between the Waccamaw River and the Atlantic Ocean.

549 i.e. cause dysentery.

550 The Scottish partnership of Evan, James and Alexander Baillie, which was based in St. Kitts. Evan Baillie relocated to Bristol in 1776 and became a leading figure in the West India interest there. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 59; Douglas Hamilton, 'Local Connections, Global Ambitions: Creating a Transoceanic Network in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Empire,' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23, no. 2 (2011), pp. 283-300.

good rice & staves fit for this market on our accounts if rice don't exceed forty five shillings per hundredweight. If it should you'l then please to fill her in the hold with pitch, turpentine, green tar & staves. We rely on you to do the best for the interest of the concern as we are full well acquainted with your abillitys in the sale of Negroes (shall say nothing on that head). You'll please to supply the casptain with money to pay his half wages, port charges &c.

[67] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Owners, Bristol, to Richard Hanson, Virginia, 28 February 1771, Account book of the *Hector*

Your friend Mr Lidderdale[551] have given us a box for the *Hector*'s remittance in case you sell her cargo, viz. the whole net proceeds by the ship in good bills of exchange not exceeding six, twelve & eighteen months but we hope you'l be enabled by the sale of the cargo of Negroes to remit us at six, nine & twelve months & we doubt not your best endeavours in the sale of the cargo so that a good sale & bills at a short sight will be a great inducement to us to send you more ships. We hope you'l procure the ship a freight of tobacco for this port or at least part of a load & what vacant room remains we would have filled up with staves on our accot. We think the staves about Newport News are the best. Pray dispatch the ship as soon as possible. The *Hector*'s cargo is limited at Carolina at £34 sterling round so that we suppose Virginia will be her place of sale, but don't imagine she will be with you before July or August, as the last accot from the coast was not very favourable.

Captain Llewellin's privilege is 6 per cent on the net proceeds of the Negroes & no privilege slaves. 1st mate 3 privilege slaves. Doctor three ditto & 2nd mate one ditto all on an average with the cargo. There is no picked privilege slaves only what you chuse to make whch you'l please to supply the captain with money to pay his half wages,[552] port charges, doctor's head money &c.

[68] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Owners, Bristol, to Captain William Llewellin, 30 October 1771, Account book of the *Hector*[553]

We continue you the command of our ship *Hector* & desire you will repair on board her in Kingroad with your ship's company not exceeding thirty five in number & embrace the first fair wind of sailing and making the best of your way to Angola where you are to barter our cargo for good young healthy slaves & ivory making the southern passage and endeavour to fall in with the land twenty or thirty leagues to the southward of Cape Negro.[554] There is a bay a little to the norward of Cape Negro where is good water & wood to be had on the sand. Be sure you never leave your boats unguarded when on shore & never land without being properly armed & send

551 John Lidderdale (1713-77), a Scottish merchant who lived in Virginia and Bristol. He left a fortune of £50,000. Bonner's *Bristol Journal*, 8 Jan. 1785.

552 Half of the captain's wages were paid during the voyage; the remainder at its completion.

553 The *Hector*, William Llewellin master, John Chilcott, Thomas Deane, Thomas Langdon, John Read and Archibald Read owners, left Bristol on 30 Oct. 1771, embarked 334 imputed slaves at Malembo, disembarked 304 imputed slaves at Charleston, and returned to Bristol on 16 Feb. 1773. Voyage ID 17780 in www.slavevoyages.org. Another source states that the intended slave cargo was 360, and that 300/304/308 slaves were landed at South Carolina. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 18.

554 In Morocco.

the most discreet of your officers & people on that duty. Endeavour if possible to cultivate some acquaintance with the natives there & if you can bring one of them round either a free man or slave the farthest south you can get him, you may likewise call at the Portuguese settlements[555] & get some refreshment. Fort Benguela[556] have plenty of stock from thence you'll proceed alongshore to River Ambroos[557] taking what that might offer you in your way down, where you'll do your best endeavour to purchase as many Negroes as you can in a reasonable time so as to be able to reach the continent of America in all the month of October.

When you arrive at River Ambroos send a boat to Cape Benda to inform yourself of what is doing there that you my better judge how long your stay ought to be at Amboos but we [cannot read] should purchase at least one hundred slaves there, as they'll stand little more than half the money they would at Cabenda[558] & are better Negroes there. We don't doubt you'll think sufficient reasons for exerting yourself at Ambroos & be sure you dispose of the worst of your goods at the same place. When you leave Ambroos let Cabinda or Melimba be your place of trade, but we recommend Cabinda as the slaves in general stand better, you see your ship every day and are much nearer your boats if they trade to windward.

When you are half slaved don't stay long if there is a possibility of getting off for after that the risk of sickness & mortality is great. We recommend to you the care of your white people for when the crew is healthy they will be able to take care of the Negroes without which there is very little probability of making a good voyage. All this we must leave to your prudent management as we don't doubt your best endeavour for the good of the concern. Be sure you get your wood & water on board in proper time that you may not be detain'd when slaved. Be careful how you fall in with the land to the southward & in sailing along shore by night to heave the lead always & by day likewise take care of a shoal as it is off Cape Negro out of sight of land.

When you have finished your trade on the coast you are to make the best of your way to the island of St Christophers & there apply to Messrs Baillies[559] in whose hands you'll find our further instructions as we shall write Mr Miles Brewton of Charleston & Mr Richard Hanson of Virginia to lodge letters with Messrs Baillies to advise you of the different markets, but you must not proceed to Virginia unless you have a probability of reaching it by the twentieth day of September and of this we leave you to judge by their advice which please to proceed to take what refreshments you want of Messrs Baillies and draw on us for the same. You may make Messrs Baillies an offer of your cargo & if those gentlemen will engage to turn out your whole cargo (none to be turned out) at thirty six pounds sterling round & dispatch your ship in five weeks from her arrival & make all the remittances in her by good bills of exchange in equal proportions at three, six & nine months, deliver them your cargo & take their own bond for the performance. If not, proceed as we may hereafter desire you or you may best judge from the advice you receive to Charlestown South Carolina or Virginia or should we hereafter send you any positive orders in that case they must be observed.

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555 Portugal had long had settlements in Angola.

556 The city of Benguela, an important base for Portuguese expansion in Africa.

557 Ambriz river, Angola.

558 A coastal city in Angola.

559 i.e. Alexander, James and Evan Baillie: see document no. 65.

If you should go to Virginia on your arrival at Hampton send an express to Mr Richard Hanson at Petersburgh to acquaint him with your arrival & proceed so he might direct you. In complyance with these our orders we allow you five pounds per master's wages & six pounds out of every one hundred & six pounds of the nett proceeds of our cargo. Your chief mate Mr Patrick McDonough is to have three slaves, your surgeon [blank] & head money in the West Indies as customary, your second mate Mr Richard Harman one slave all on an average with the cargo paying us fourteen pounds per head sterling with interest & insurance unless paid for before they sail. You nor your officers are allowed to carry any private adventure to purchase slaves or ivory on penalty & forfeiture of the same to the owners. Be frugal in your disburstments & make all dispatch possible wherever you go, as dispatch is the life of a Guinea voyage.

We desire no candle may be made use of in drawing spirits or to go near the powder, & be sure the most careful of your officers & people are employed to do that duty. We recommend to you to treat the Negroes with as much lenity as safety will admit & suffer none of your people to beat or abuse them under any pretence. Be sure let their provisions be well drest & given them in due season. Your seeing of these orders fulfilled will contribute to a healthy ship & of course to a good voyage. In case of your mortality (which God prevent) your chief mate Mr Patrick McDonough is to take the command of our ship & follow these our orders & instructions & so in succession.

[69] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Owners to William Llewellin, 3 August 1772, Account book of the *Hector*

This will de delivered you by Captain Phelps of the ship *Rawlins* as we have letters from Captain Morgan of 19 March when you were not arrived at Angola so imagine you'll be a late arrival at Carolina but you must proceed if you have any prospect of reaching it by the tenth of December for that's the market for your cargo they'll average £45 sterling. Should you be so long detained on the voyage as not to be able to reach Carolina by 10 December & you arrive at St Christophers late in December or January, we imagine it would be our interest for you to land your negroes at Old Road[560] for a month or six weeks & proceed with them to Carolina the latter end of February or beginning of March. Keep well to the southward nigh to the Bahama islands until you have run down your working when the Gulf Stream[561] will carry you to the norward & I think by that means you'll not pinch the Negroes with the cold. Enter your ship in the West Indies before you hand your Negroes for fear of [illegible]. If you should be so late in the season at St Christophers as to be in the cold weather on the coast of Carolina, don't leave St Christophers with less than five weeks provision.

We hope you'll be able to proceed to Carolina for its by much the best market in America but should you be so unfortunate as to have the smallpox on board you must then deliver your cargo to Messrs Baillies & let them make the best they can of them. This is a matter we leave in some measure to yourself as being on the spott, but you'll

560 A small town on the west coast of St. Kitts.

561 A warm, swift Atlantic ocean current that originates in the Gulf of Mexico and flows through the Florida Straits.

remember the average at Carolina. The principal part of your men will sell at £450 currency which is upwards of £64 sterling.[562] We are wishing you a good voyage.

[70] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Owners to William Llewellin, 26 June 1773, Account book of the *Hector*[563]

We continue you the commander of our ship *Hector* & desire you will repair aboard her in Kingroad with your ships company not exceeding thirty four in number & embrace the first opportunity of sailing and make the best of your way to Angola on the coast of Africa where you are to barter our cargo of goods for sound healthy young Negroes & ivory and we recommend that your first trade be at River Ambriz a second place or places to the southward of Congo where we hope you & the sloop *Ambris* Captain Lovegrove will be able to purchase at least one hundred Negroes before you leave that in the ship. When you leave Ambriz & that part of the coast you must finish your trade at Malimba or Cape Benda & by no means stop at Loango to trade. You are to take the Negroes from on board the sloop *Ambris* into your ship as often as opportunity offers & you are not to leave the sloop behind you on the coast but to send her off before you sail, or if you sail [illegible] alike come off the coast to go there putting fifty suitable Negroes on board the sloop *Ambris* or more if you should make a good purchase which hope you may be exerting yourselves to the southward & on that depends in a great measure your voyage. We think you should keep of[f] the shore of Malimba or Cape Benda in turning up that none of the canoes of the [illegible] may come on board you, that is if you make the northern passage. When the *Ambris* & you have purchased half the slaves you expect & not stay long if there is a probability of getting off for the risk of sickness & mortality is then very great.

We recommend to you the care of your white people for when the crew is healthy they will be able to take care of the Negroes without which there is little probability of making a good voyage. This we must leave to your prudent management as it is your interest to use your utmost endeavours. Be sure you get your wood on board and water filled on time that you may not be detained when slaved. We recommend to you to treat the negroes with as much lenity as safety will permit & suffer none of your people to beat or abuse them under any pretence whatever, & lett their victuals be well drest & given in due season. Your seeing those things fulfilled will contribute to a healthy ship & of course to a good voyage. We desire no candell might be made use of in drawing spirits or to go near your powder & let the most careful of your officers & people be employed to do that duty. When you finish your trade on the coast of Angola you are to make the best of your way to Charlestown South Carolina & deliver your cargoe of Negroes to Miles Brewton Esquire unless you should receive orders hereafter to the contrary. If you should be in want of water or provisions that

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562 The nearest exchange rate to this cited in John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1978), p. 224, is £679 South Carolina currency = £100 sterling in February 1772.

563 The *Hector*, William Llewellin master, John Chilcott, Thomas Deane, Thomas Longdon, John Read, Archibald Robe, Philip Protheroe and William Llewellin owners, left Bristol on 27 June 1773, embarked 325 imputed slaves at West Central Africa and returned to Bristol on 19 Sept. 1774. Voyage ID 17836 in www.slavevoyages.org. Another source states that 280 or 296 slaves were landed at St Kitts and South Carolina. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 45.

should oblige you to call at one of the islands let it be at St Kitts on Messrs Baillies & proceed from there to Carolina without loss of time.

In compliance with these orders but not otherwise, we allow you five pounds per month wages & commission of six pounds per cent of the nett proceeds of Negroes. Your chief mate Mr C. Grieg is to have three privilege slaves. Your doctor two privilege slaves your second mate one privilege slave all on an average with the cargo they paying us fourteen pounds sterling per head for the same with interest & insurance which slaves you are to settle for where you sell your cargo. You nor your officers are allowed to carry any private adventure to purchase slaves or ivory on penalty & forfeiture of the whole to the owners. Take off the gentlemen that sell you your Negroes as much money as will pay port charges half wages doctor's head money &c. Be frugal in your disburstments & advise us of your proceedings by every opportunity & we are wishing you a good voyage.

[71] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Tradesmen for the cost of the 3rd outset of the *Hector*, 30 August 1773, Account book of the *Hector*

1	Nicholas Blannin	Timber	£39 5s.
2	Ditto	Labour	£14 16s
3	Thomas Skyrme	Bishey baker	£108 12s.
4	Samuel Spann[564]	Beef & Tongues	£83 4s.
5	William Bundy & Co.	Sailmaker	£64 18s.
6	William Overand[565]	Beef	£55 4s.
7	Reynolds, Getley & Co.[566]	Iron Hoops	£53 10s.
8	John Stephens	Cooper	£54 8s. 6d.
9	Richard Farr Esquire & Son	Rope makers	£54 13s.
10	Samuel Cox	Sail cloth	£34 15s.
11	Wescomb Forster	Beef	£30
12	Thomas Lucas	Bottled liquor	£36 16s.
13	Richard & John Blanch	Boatbuilders	£28 9s.
14	Joseph Callaway	Cleaning arms	£18
15	John Roach[567]	Joiner	£15 1s.
16	Thomas Tawman	Fresh beef	£16 15s.
17	Christopher Grigg	Disbursements	£16 0s. 5d.
18	James Cox	Pilot	£13 0s. 6d.

564 A Bristol merchant and shipowner (d. 2 Dec. 1795) who was master SMV 1777. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 50; Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War*, pp. 288-9, 293, 299.

565 A Bristol shipowner. Minvhinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 186; Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War*, p. 297.

566 James Getley and Richard Reynolds were co-partners in a Bristol firm of ironmongers. Reynolds, Getley & co. also owned iron and tinplate works at Melingriffith, near Cardiff, where they began operating in 1768. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, p. 185; W. E. Minchinton, *The British Tinplate Industry: A History* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 17, 20.

567 A Bristol merchant and shipowner. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, p. 53; Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War*, pp. 289, 295.

19	Thomas Beale	Ironmonger	£13 10s.
20	William James[568]	Stock fish & Porter	£11 18s.
21	Richard Hayward	Block Maker	£11 3s.
22	Patrick Higgins	Rigger	£8 19s. 6d.
23	John Chilcott	A Seam	£7 17s. 6d.
24	John & Thomas Williams	Butter	£7 2s.
25	Timothy Brown	Painter	£6 3s.
26	William Llewellin	Disbursements	£6 5s. 9d.
27	John Stephens	Suit Salt	£5 17s. 6d.

1	John Coghlan	India Goods	£3,479 18s.
2	Ditto	Taffaty	£70 16s.
3	James McTaggart & Co.	Manchester goods	£399 8s.
4	Baugh, Ames & Co.[569]	Gunpowder	£260 8s.
5	Joshua James	Brandy	£210 12s.
6	Edward Young	Beans, pease etc.	£150 17s.
7	John Chilcott & Co.	Rice	£112 19s. 4d.
8	Hawkins & Ames	Broadcloth	£96 9s.
9	William Eagles	Bays & duffills	£91 4s.
10	Farmer & Galton	Arms	£91 3s.
11	Joseph Calloway	Ditto	£63
12	William Gabbitas	Ditto	£52 10s.
13	Philip Palmer & Son	Clothes & slops	£52 13s.
14	John Lean	Knives	£45 2s.
15	Curtis & Lovewell	Rum	£41 3s. 3d.
16	Abram Spooner & Son	Iron	£38
17	John Stephens	Cooper	£43 7s.
18	Job Watts	Caps	£35 12s.
19	Read & Fletcher	Earthenware	£32 14s.
20	William James	Carriage	£30 5s.
21	Thomas Eagles & Co.	Beads	£14 11s.
22	Bush & Winpenny	Wheat	£14 18s.
23	Edward Brice	Trunk maker	£13 10s.
24	Benjamin Hall	Lead ball & shot	£9
25	John Roach	Chests for Arms	£8 13s.

568 A Bristol shipowner and sometime partner of Edmund Lloyd. Powell, *Bristol Ships and Privateers of War*, pp. 239, 250.

569 Gunpowder makers. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, p. 51.

26	James Furse	Sago powder	£8 10s.
27	William Evans & Co.	Dealmen	£6 18s.
28	Richard Crump	Tinman	£4 8s.
29	Richard Stratton	Hallier	£3 3s. 6d.
30	Cecil Forrest	Ship chandler	£5 7s. 6d.
31	Francis Daniel	Bricks	£5 12s. 6d.
32	Joseph Green	Cutler	£3 6s.
33	John Farrell	Boat hire	£3 17s. 6d.
34	Rebecca Colquhoun	Lighterage	£3 4s.
35	Samuel Vowles	Cheese	£3 6d.
36	William Granger	Tripe	£2 8s.
37	William Wanklyn	Vinegar	£2 16s. 6d.
38	Jeremiah Jones	Smith	£2 17s.
39	John Bodmon	Ship keeping	£2 13s.
40	John McCullom	Beef	£2 14s.
41	John James & Co.	Plumbers	£1 19s.10d.
42	David Lewis	Butter	£3 17s.
43	Society Merchants	Cranage	£3 16s. 8d.
44	Sidenham Teast[570]	Smith	£8 19s.
45	John Chilcott	Wine &c	£14 14s.
46	Ditto	Disbursements	£25
47	Portledge bill		£129 18s.
48	Pursership		£8 8s.
49	Coffee House expenses		£5

Examined 30 August 1773 Thomas Deane £1,065 11s. 8d.

[72] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509385, Lowbridge Bright,[571] Bristol, to Bright, Milward & Duncombe,[572] Kingston, 21 September 1773, Lowbridge Bright letterbook (1765-1773)

I have to acknowledge the receipt of sundry of your favours by the *Kingston Packett* and several other conveyances to which I shall reply in kind but shall first inform you what immediately occurs least I should not have time to read the whole of your letters. The *Kingston Packett* is discharging and will be out tomorrow. I have bespoke the dock for her and am in great hopes she will leave by next Spring say by the 10th of next month. The orders are all given, and my endeavours shall be used for that

570 Sydenham Teaste & Son, merchants and shipbuilders, Queen Square and Wapping, Bristol. Minchinton, ed., *The Trade of Bristol*, p. 62.

571 A Bristol West India merchant (1741-1818). Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 677.

572 Merchants and factors in Bristol and Jamaica. Ibid., p. 28.

purpose but you know there is some difficulty in getting a vessel dispatch'd at this time of the year when so many ships are fitting out. I do not intend sending her to Ireland as many ships are gone and going there and can pick up some good butter here pretty cheap, her going there would occasion some delay which at this season of the year may be prejudicial, particularly as you will have a good many ships out early.

Since I wrote you by the *Ruby* (and I found there was nothing more to be done in the African way here) I got Henry Bright to give me letters of introduction to Liverpool & to stand security for us & immediately set out for that place. I there agreed with Mr William James[573] for three cargoes two from the Windward and Gold Coast and one from Bonny or Callabar. The ships are to be loaded if required at a proper season of the year and produce to be procured, the remainder to be sent in bills on Henry Bright at 9, 12 & 15 months. Foord & Delpratt have for most (I believe I may say for all) have three vessells done the same at 6, 9 & 12 months – Hibberts & Co,[574] at 4, 8 & 12 Bright & H upon various and still more advantageous terms to the owners. The same has been given to Miles Barber[575] for 3 or 4 vessels to come to Malcolm Laing[576] & some I hear at 3, 6 & 9. Our friends tried for some, but I believe the security was not approv'd. The event has justified their suspicions. 3, 6 and 9 months and 4, 8 & 12 has been the terms given by all the Carolina houses. Seeing such terms given made me less sanguine about them, as am afraid it will bring too many down to Jamaica. I shall now hold my hand until I hear from you how they go off this next season and what your opinion may then be about going on in the same way. I think we still have some chance of the *Marlborough*[577] and *King George*.[578] The particulars about the latter I shall inform you when I come to answer your letter

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573 A leading slave merchant at Liverpool. Ibid., p. 121, and Lorena S. Walsh, 'Liverpool's Slave Trade to the Colonial Chesapeake: Slaving on the Periphery' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, p. 102.

574 Probably Hibberts & Jackson, factors for the sale of slave cargoes in Jamaica. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 120.

575 Miles Barber was a slave trading merchant who operated from Lancaster in the late 1750s and from Liverpool from the mid-1760s. He went bankrupt in 1777. He later traded for slaves at Sierra Leone, where he owned and operated a slaving factory at Isle de Los. David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Slave Merchants of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' and Melinda Elder, 'The Liverpool Slave Trade, Lancaster and its Environs' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 121, 185; Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-1808' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, pp. 33-5, 37, 40-3.

576 Malcolm Laing (1718-81) was born in Britain but emigrated to Jamaica and became a successful merchant and Receiver-General of Jamaica. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 445.

577 The *Marlborough*, John Marshall master, Richard Farr, Sons & Co. owners, left Bristol on 10 Feb. 1772, delivered slaves to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 10/11 Apr. 1774. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 34. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17815 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel embarked 368 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 300 imputed slaves in Jamaica.

578 The *King George*, John Smith master, John Anderson & Co. owners, left Bristol on 4 Jan. 1773, gathered slaves at Angola, delivered them to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 28 Mar. 1774. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 46. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17838 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel embarked 386 imputed slaves in West Central Africa and disembarked 351 imputed slaves in Jamaica.

which is about her. The *Elizabeth* Robe[579] and *Molly* Wright[580] are ordered down to us for certain, as is the *Constantine* Chilcott[581] without there should be any great alteration in the state of our market, which there is no foreseeing so long beforehand in that, or Bush & Elton[582] are to be advised but they have no doubt of her there with James three vessels will be as many as I think you will know what to do with if one or even two of them should not come down, which must in some manner be guarded against as disappointments of that kind so frequently happen, and there is no certain and effectual method of preventing.

The *Sally* and *Alathea* cargoes of sugar which you may remember Edward Foord[583] was purchasing at the time we were shipping on the *Ruby* and *Mercury* sold on average at 38/ per lott or 14d. You may perhaps remember what some of the sugars cost. I think a good many of them were pretty high, notwithstanding you see the Liverpool people are for having produce home in their ships which I think may be as well for us as drawing bills for the whole as we shall have many debts that must be taken in produce, and to ship on such terms as our neighbours I suppose pretty good credit will be given upon what you may have occasion to purchase. If not I think it better even to purchase with cash or short credit and loose a little interest than be to remit much produce on our own accounts, which I am afraid must be the case if there is not some to be shipped on the owners account which our Bristol gentlemen in general don't seem very fond of.

I expect James'[584] ships will arrive early in the year as he sent out orders for the first vessels after those orders should get out to proceed down to Jamaica to our address, in consequence of my representing to him the advantage I thought he would have on being early at market. He has more than 20 sail of Guineamen belonging entirely to himself. He will write you his instructions to which I would have you adhere as near as you can. I have seen several of Foord & Delpratt's[585] accounts with him this year which were as I before mention'd the ship loaded with produce & the balance in bills in three equal divisions at 6 9 & 12 months. Ours must be in the same manner with this difference only of bills at 9 12 & 15 months.[586] What I have mention'd of others terms keep to yourselves. I believe all the bills you have sent

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579 The *Elizabeth*, Archibald Robe master, David Hamilton & Co. owners, left Bristol on 6 Apr. 1773, and was sunk off the coast at either Bonny or New Calabar on 18 June 1773. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 44; voyage ID 17834 in www.slavevoyages.org.

580 The *Molly*, Mungo Wright master, James McTaggart & Co. owners, left Bristol on 16 May 1773, bound for Africa. It delivered slaves to Jamaica and returned to Bristol on 5 or 9 July 1774., Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 49. Further details are supplied in voyage ID 17843 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel embarked 250 imputed slaves in Africa and disembarked 208 imputed slaves in Jamaica.

581 The *Constantine*, John Chilcott master, David Hamilton & Co. owners, left Bristol on 21 July 1773 and sold guns and gunpowder at Anomabu. It was reported at St Vincent with 376 slaves but probably sold them in Jamaica. It returned to Bristol on 23 June 1774. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 42. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17831 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel embarked 435 imputed slaves at Anomabu and disembarked 376 imputed slaves at Jamaica.

582 A Bristol merchant partnership. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 52.

583 A merchant in Kingston. Ibid., p. 342.

584 i.e. William James: see document no. 72.

585 Foord & Delpratt were agents in Kingston for Bristol sugar merchants. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 200.

586 Merchants varied the lengths of credit they offered on slave sales, but they were usually in tranches of three months as indicated here.

will be paid except B. H. May's on Miles[587] and W. Witters on Curtis & Lovell both which are noted.

The *Byron* is just arriv'd but not come up. George Champion[588] has accepted all the bills on him. I don't know if those you sent him are accepted but Meyler & Maxse's[589] are if Champion's are not I will take them up. If you have not remitted John Smith anything would have you do it as you receive. I think Cargills will not be backward in advising him what progress in the payments. Bright Milward & Duncombe's account shall be paid as soon as the first bill of Champions which you sent me comes within one month of being due that I may draw without having any discount to pay. The remainder shall be apply'd where there is most need, and will ease our interest account most for which purpose shall get a sketch of Henry Bright Bush & Elton[590] & Lowbridge Bright & Co. account and see where we are paying interest & how it may best be paid.

The Snow *Africa* is arriv'd.[591] We shall loose between 2 & £800 sterling by that hopefull voyage. If she had proceeded on her voyage when she first sailed without putting back Mr Anderson informs me she would have been in Carolina so much sooner as would have made me more than £10 sterling per head difference in the price of her slaves. I shall be for drawing out of that concern, as have no particular purpose to answer by continuing any longer in her. If we were to take a part in any vessel it should be a good Gold Coast man, and that only a very small part, but this I shall endeavour to avoid as much as possible.

To save the trouble of repeating the same in answering your letters where there are any orders for goods as often as they occur, I shall observe one for all that they shall be comply'd with as exactly as possible both in quantity and price. Some little ? in the latter sometimes will happen one way or the other but you may take it for granted it is as near as possible.

I am glad to hear poor David Duncombe is so well recovered of his illness and hope it may be all he will experience. I think Bright Milward & Duncombe as well as myself indebted to Messrs Arthur & Benjamin Heywood[592] for this fine ship and recommendation of our house when in Liverpool, I have fixed a correspondence with them when I may want anything in future. They are men of easy fortune & excellent character. If at any time you have occasion to ship anything to that port, I would recommend your consigning it to them as well to throw some little matters in their

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587 i.e. William Miles, a prominent Bristol sugar merchant who also acted as a guarantee for slave cargoes. He owned plantations in Jamaica and Nevis. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 84, 96, 149, 189, 191, 193-5, 197, 203-4, 206, 211, 213-14.

588 George Champion (d. 7 Jan. 1817) was a merchant and shipowner. He was warden SMV 1777 and declared bankrupt in 1781. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, pp. 190-1.

589 Richard Meyler & John Maxse (1742-1806) were Bristol sugar merchants who also traded with Ireland. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 194, and Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 26.

590 Bristol merchants who also had a business association with Lowbridge Bright. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, pp. 52-3.

591 The *Africa*, Walter Vaughan master replaced by Gavin Fraser, John Anderson owner, left Bristol on 9 Sept. 1772 and purchased 228 imputed slaves in Africa. Voyage ID 17796 in www.slavevoyages.org. Another source states that the ship landed 185 or 190 slaves at South Carolina and returned to Bristol on 28 Aug./1 Sept./16 Dec. 1773. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 26.

592 Benjamin and Arthur Heywood were a Liverpool merchant partnership involved in the slave trade and banking. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 428.

way for the trouble they will have on this side the water as that from their strict attention and method of managing their business they are likely to consult our interest as any house there.

In my former letter I advis'd you that I had engaged the *Molly* Wright upon Bush & Elton's security but believe did not fully inform you of the terms &c. The owners demanded 6 9 & 12 months and would not hear talk of anything less. I offerd 9 12 & 15. In this situation we continued some days & neither would vary. As she was then on her voyage & likely to be down soon & there was no other ship in town to be engag'd (a ship was at the same time lying windbound in Kingroad[593] for Dominique[594] where she was to call for orders, and after her no other conveyance that would have a chance of reaching her) I thought it best to divide the difference and consent to 6 9 12 & 15 months in four equal divisions, and had much difficulty to get her on those terms. For whatever Foord & Delpratt may do in consequence of Edward Foord letters to Delpratt it is certain to that time they had been given 6 9 & 12 months. This was also before I knew what could be done in Liverpool. Barber, Boates[595] Ingram[596] & others would not take less than 6 9 & 12 months even when I was there. For fear of loosing this conveyance as the captain is going down, I will send this and on another sheet begin to answer your letter, which will endeavour to get ready by this conveyance. Remember me to Mrs Hay & thank her for her care of David Duncombe in his illness. My best respects to H. Ross, & will write him soon. Also make my compliments acceptable to Cuthbert, Allardyce, Monsatt, Cathcart, Harvey & J. Graham with our neighbour Flamingo.

[73] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, Owners to William Llewellin, 12 November 1773, Account book of the *Hector*

This will be deliverd you by Captain Frazier of the ship *Catharine*[597] who we hope will find you near slaved. Make what dispatch you can to get off the coast & proceed directly to Carolina as we would wish you to be an early ship there, we hope in all April, for then you'll certainly come to a good market. This year in the month of June there was fourteen sail of Guinea ships all on sale at the same time which lowered the price £6 or £8 per head, but as soon as the glut was over the market rose immediately. Captain Frazier averaged near £48 round, & imagine you'll do the same if you are an

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593 A roadstead off Portishead, near the mouth of the River Avon, where ships dropped anchor in sheltered waters. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 29.

594 i.e. Dominica.

595 William Boats was an owner of more than 150 Liverpool slave vessels. Denise Jones, 'Robert Bostock of Liverpool and the British Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1769-93' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, p. 71.

596 Francis Ingram was a Liverpool slave trader between 1760 and 1799, particularly active in the Bight of Benin. Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740-1807' and David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirationsn of Liverpool's Slave Merchants of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 26, 200; Sheryllynne Haggerty, *The British Atlantic Trading Community: Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods* (Leiden, 2006), p. 228.

597 The *Catherine*, James Fraser and Thomas Jones captains, Thomas Langdon owner, left Bristol on 28 Aug. 1772, embarked 260 imputed slaves at Malembo, disembarked 237 slaves at Charleston, and returned to Bristol on 20 Sept. 1773. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 28; Voyage ID 17800 in www.slavevoyages.org.

early ship at market. Mr Brewton has declined selling any more Negroes so that on your arrival at Carolina you are to deliver your cargo to John Neufville Esquire[598] to be disposed of for our accounts. The remittance is as last voyage. We have sent you as under by Captain Fraser & we are wishing you a good voyage.

[74] Bristol Archives, acc. 45039,Owner's instructions for the snow *Africa*[599] to Captain George Merrick, Bristol, 13 October 1774, Account book of the snow *Africa*

We appoint you Commander of our Snow *Africa* and desire you to repair on board her in Kingroad with your ships company not exceeding thirty one in number, yourself included, and embrace the first opportunity of sailing, and make the best of your way to New Callabar, on the coast of Africa.

You have a cargo on board on our account amounting to £ [blank] which you are to barter for good healthy young Negroes & ivory, and we desire you'll be very carefull in the purchase of the Negroes not to buy any old slaves or children, but good healthy, young men & women, & buy all the ivory you can and when you are half slaved dont stay long if there is a possibility of getting off, for the risque of sickness & mortality then becomes great. We recommend to you the care of your white people, for when your crew is healthy they will be able to take care of the Negroes, & be sure you get your wood on board & water filld sufficient for the voyage in time, that you may not be detaind on the coast, when slaved (besides the neglect of such a thing woud lumber the ship when the Negroes want the room). Let no candle be made use of in drawing spirits, or to go near the powder, and let the most carefull of your officers & people be employd to do that duty. We recommend to you to treat the Negroes with as much lenity as safety will admit, and suffer none of your officers or people to beat or abuse them, under any pretence whatever. Be sure you see their victuals well dressd & given them in due season. Your seeing those orders fulfilld will contribute much to a healthy ship & of course to a good voyage. We recommend to you to make fires frequently in the Negroe rooms, as we think it healthy, & you have iron kettles on board for that purpose. We recommend mutton broth in fluxes, so that you'll endeavor to purchase as many sheep & goats to bring off the coast for that purpose as you conveniently [can] and appoint some of your people to feed them by hand, by which means they will be preserved and keep in good order

When you have finished your trade on the coast make the best of your way to the island of St Vincent, and there apply to Messrs Akers & Houstoun[600] in whose hands

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598 John Neufville imported nine slave cargoes at Charleston between 1765 and 1774. W. Robert Higgins, 'Charles Town Merchants and Factors dealing in the External Negro Trade 1735-1775,' *SCHM*, 65, no. 4 (1964), p. 207.

599 The *Africa*, George Merrick master, John Chilcott & Co. owners, left Bristol on 14 Oct. 1774 to purchase slaves at New Calabar. It sold slaves at either St Vincent or St Kitts and returned to Bristol on 11 Aug. 1775. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 50. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17846 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were John Chilcott, John Anderson, James Rogers, Thomas Lucas, Daniel Henderson, John Coghlan, James Ruscomb and Samuel Galton. The vessel embarked 293 imputed slaves at New Calabar and disembarked 244 imputed slaves at St. Kitts. Details of this voyage, including the outset costs, are presented in Alison Brown and Jonathan Harlow, eds., *Atlantic Venture Accounts of Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, vol. 74 (Bristol, 2021), pp. 151-6.

600 A merchant house in St Kitts. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, p. 87.

you'll find our further instructions.

In compliance with these our orders but not otherwise, we allow you five pounds per month wages, and six pounds out of every one hundred & six pounds of the neat proceeds of the Negroes, your chief mate Mr John Matthews three privilege[601] Negroes, on an average with the cargo paying us fifteen guineas per head for them, your second mate one Negroe privilege, your surgeon one Negroe privilege, all on the same termes. You nor your officers are allowd to carry any private adventure to purchase slaves or ivory on penalty & forfeiture of the whole to the owners. In case of your mortality which hope God will prevent your chief mate Mr John Matthews is to take the command of our ship & follow these our orders & instructions, and so on in succession. Dispatch wherever you go, be frugal in your disbursements and advise us of your proceedings by every opportunity. You are to settle with your officers in the West Indias for the cost of their privilege Negroes, take of the gentlemen that sell our Negroes money to pay half wages, port charges, & doctors head money, & sell any returnd goods you might have to ease the disbursements. We are, wishing you a good voyage & safe return

Your friends & owners

P. S. Take care to enter your ship in the West Indias before you land any Negroes to prevent seizures & trouble

Thomas Lucas James Rogers John Chilcott John Anderson[602]

[75] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509385, Lowbridge Bright, Bristol, to Bright, Milward & Duncomb, Jamaica, 21 December 1774, Lowbridge Bright letterbook (1774-1780), Bright Family Papers

I wrote you fully by the *Rebecca* and *Clarendon*. The former in particular I hope is arrived with you ere this & that the goods by her come to hand timely and to a good market. I have since received your two favours of 5 September by the *Thyne Packet* and 10 October by the *Hillsbrough* ditto the former enclosing the agreement which you have signed & for which am thankfull. Your directions respecting the goods order'd shall be attended to. Captain Hall is not yet arrived, nor any other merchant ship, so that what letters you have sent by them are not come to hand, which leaves us quite in the dark about the *Kingston Packett* & whether she will get a load this year or not. All we know is that she is arrived.

I have already advised you concerning Cunningham's bill which Captain Webb indorsed, at present nothing more can be done. Have receivd ten pounds from Captain Nelson being the money he receivd from D. Baynes on Nathaniel Milward's account.

By yours of 10th October I observe that you have taken up the *Juno* Captain Eagles, the terms and the sale are good; considering what numbers come down to your market, I think you cut a great figure the first day. I formerly informed you that in consequence of your sundry letters desiring me ot to make any engagements here I

601 It was common practice for masters and mates on slaving vessels to have privilege slaves as their property.

602 John Anderson managed 66 slave voyages from Bristol between 1764 and 1797. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, p. 29.

had got off from the *Mercury*[603] *Minerva* &c but as I hear they left the coast so soon, am doubtfull if the orders will reach them in time to alter their destination, and think one of them at least will yet fall to your share; I was in hopes of having nothing to do with them as you can do so much better with you at present. Considering the present situation of Carolina Virginia & the Ceded Islands,[604] I think we are very happy in being free from African engagements. You certainly must have more down with you than can be managed to advantage, without the Spaniards should assist you greatly,[605] and in that case, how will you get good bills for all the dollars they bring?

I think the present situation of affairs such that you cannot be too cautious; this remark is not made from my any doubts of your care and circumspection, but only to show you what is my opinion. The bills for this cargo will be accepted when they come to hand.

Henry Bright & Bush & Elton promise to send their account current by the *Hector* Captain Thomas who will go next Spring, when shall write you in company with Richard Bright agreeable to what formerly advised you. Henry Bright has wrote you by this conveyance. As his letter is gone he has just sent me Benjamin Heywood's bill on George Champion for £100 with protest,[606] which you have inclosed, & which with the cares you must give his account credit for.

Having nothing further at present, but that all friends are well & desire to be remembered to you, & that have sent you the newspapers that you may know what is doing here.

[76] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509385, Lowbridge Bright, Bristol, to Benjamin Heywood, Liverpool, 23 January 1775, Lowbridge Bright letterbook (1774-80), Bright Family Papers

I duly receivd your favour of 20th instant & am extremely sorry it is not in my power to comply with your request by engaging in behalf of Bright, Milward & Duncombe for the sale of your cargo of Negroes. I have had positive orders from my partners not to enter into any engagements as they foresaw the market would be greatly undone. The present situation of affairs in America shutting up so many markets & so few ships selling in the Leward or Caribbe islands makes me dread the consequences of such numbers going down to Jamaica, which island is greatly in debt by the number already sold there. For these reasons, I cannot consistently with prudence or my partners instructions make any agreement here. If I did there is no person I should so much wish to form a connection with as Mr Heywood.

Bright Milward & Duncombe will sometimes take up a cargo when they see they can do it with propriety & without distressing themselves or their friends too much. If you chuse it may recommend to them any of your ships that may call at Kingston,

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603 The *Mercury*, William Brown master replaced by Richard Patten, David Hamilton owner, left Bristol on 8 Mar. 1774, embarked 369 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 307 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 27 March 1775. Voyage ID 17861 in www.slavevoyages.org. Another source states that the ship landed 307 slaves at St Vincent and also called at Grenada en route for Jamaica. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 58.

604 The ceded islands were Grenada, Dominica, Tobago and St Vincent, which were ceded to Britain according to the Treaty of Paris (1763) that concluded the Seven Years' War.

605 Refers to continuing trade between Jamaica and Spanish America.

606 This was the legal term for a rejected bill of exchange.

should you not be able to get such security as you approve elsewhere: if it is agreeable to you I will write recommending any of your ships which may call on them which is all I can at present do. It must rest with whatever concerns you may have with those gentlemen, you may rely on their best endeavours for your interest & their engagements being punctually comply'd with. Mr Henry Bright has communicated the determination of contracting their concerns in the island of Jamaica & in the present situation of affairs much approves their resolution on that head.

[77] University of Melbourne Archives, UMA-ITE-1980007509385, Lowbridge Bright, Bristol, to William James, Liverpool, 9 March 1775, Lowbridge Bright letterbook (1774-80), Bright Family Papers

As the *Alathea* Anderson and *Spy* Stewart[607] the two vessels you promised should be consigned to Messrs Bright Milward & Duncombe and which by your letter of 18th October 1773 you gave them great reason to expect would be at Jamaica in all February 1774 or sooner have sold their cargoes many months since at other markets, I am desired by Mr Henry Bright who has now declined all business to apply for the engagement he gave you in behalf of those gentlemen as it can be of no further use to you.

In a letter from Bright Milward & Duncombe they complain much of the disappointment they then suffered by those ships coming down to them as it prevented their taking up others being in daily expectation of heir arrival. But as soon as they heard that those ship had sold elsewhere, they then endeavoured to supply the difficiency by taking up others in their stead, which they have since done in as great a degree as they could wish.

[78] Bristol Archives, acc. 45039, John Chilcott, Philip Protheroe,[608] Thomas Lucas & Son and James Rogers,[609] Bristol, to Captain Thomas Baker, 1 August 1776, Account book of the snow *Africa*

We appoint you commander of our snow *Africa*[610] and desire you'll repair on board her in Kingroad with your ships company not exceeding twenty eight in number

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607 The *Spy*, Henry Stewart master, William James owner, left Liverpool on 10 Nov. 1773, embarked 230 imputed slaves on the Windward Coast, disembarked 197 imputed slaves at Charleston, and returned to Liverpool on 30 Dec. 1774. Voyage ID 91819 in www.slavevoyages.org

608 A member of the leading Bristol West India merchant firm Protheroe & Claxton. Philip Protheroe was sheriff 1777, declined mayoralty 1800 and d. 1819 aged 59. Minchinton, ed., *Trade of Bristol*, p. 65; Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 194.

609 A Bristol merchant with interests in the slave trade and the Newfoundland trade. He went bankrupt in the credit crisis of 1793. Kenneth Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' *Historical Research*, 76, no. 192 (2003), pp. 189-216; David Richardson, 'Rogers, James (c. 1740-1799)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 47, pp. 554-5.

610 The *Africa*, Thomas Baker master, John Chilcott & Co. owners, left Bristol on 31 July 1776, intended for a slaving voyage to Old Calabar. The vessel blew up off the coast of Portugal during an engagement with an American privateer on 22 Aug. 1776. Richardson, *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 70; voyage ID 17886 in www.slavevoyages.org; and W. E. Minchinton, 'The Voyage of the snow *Africa*,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, 37, no. 3 (1951), pp. 187-96. For further details on the voyage, see Alison Brown and Jonathan Harlow, eds., *Atlantic Venture Accounts of Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, vol. 74 (Bristol, 2021), pp. 151-6.

your self included, and embrace the first opportunity of sailing, and make the best of your way to the Windward Coast of Africa, endeavoring to fall in with the land about Cape Mount, where you are to begin your trade, & continue it all along to Annamaboe, buying all the healthy young Negroes that offers, as well as ivory gold & mellegetta,[611] but as ivory is our principal object on the Windward & Gold Coast, desire you'l purchase all you can on any reasonable termes. You must purchase betwixt Cape Mount & Bassaw, three to four tons of rice at least for your Negroe provisions, and if rice is plenty & cheap, buy as much as you can conveniently put away to sell again at Annamaboe.[612] Be careful you buy no bad gold, & what slaves or gold you buy on the Windward & Gold Coast, endeavor to barter for ivory before you leave Annamaboe. When you have finished your trade at Annamaboe you are to make the best of your way to Old Callebar, and on your arrival there endeavor to inform your self which will be the best place to fix your trade, either at the Old or New Town,[613] before you land any goods – and do your endeavor to be on good termes with the natives.

You have a cargo on board amounting to £ [blank] which you are to barter for good young Negroes, ivory, & palm oil, on our accounts, buy no old Negroes or children, and when you are half slaved dont stay long if there is a possibility of getting off, as the risque of sickness & mortality then becomes great. Let ivory be a principal object with you at Callebar as well as on the Windward or the Gold Coast. When you have finishd your trade at Old Callebar, & taken a sufficient quantity of wood & water, on board for your passage which be careful to do in time, proceed directly to the Island of Tobago, & there apply to Mr Thomas Bird, in whose hands you'll find our further instructions. Let your Negroe provisions be well dressd & given them in due season, and suffer none of your people to beat or abuse them under any pretence whatever. Be sure you suffer no candle to be made use of in drawing spirits, or to go near powder, and let the most careful of your people be employ'd to do that duty. Be careful of your white peoples health, for when they are healthy, they are able to take care of your Negroes, without which there's little probability of makeing a good voyage. We need not decend to more particulars, but rely on your prudence & management for conducting this foyage.

On condition that you punctually obey these our orders foregoing and following, also what other orders you may receive from us during the voyage (but not otherwise) we allow you five pounds per month wages, under the same regulations as your ships company, coast commissions four pounds out of every one hundred & four pounds of the nett proceeds of the Negroes sold in the West Indias on our accounts, and what ivory etc you purchase you shall be allowd the same commissions out of the nett proceeds thereof in Bristol. We also allow you for your deligence & care of our Negroes to the place of sale, seven privilege Negroes on an average with the cargo, paying us for them what they may cost with interest & insurance on them unless paid for before you leave England. We allow your chief mate Mr William Rendall two slaves privilege, your second mate Mr Peter Birch one slave privilege, & your doctor Mr Thomas Stephens one slave privilege - all on same termes as your self.

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611 Malaguetta pepper.

612 i. e. Anomabu on the Gold Coast.

613 These were townships in Old Calabar. Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, 'African Agency and the Liverpool Slave Trade' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, p. 55.

We likewise allow your doctor one shilling currency per head for every Negroe sold in the West Indias on our accounts, as an inducement to him to take care of them to the place of sale.

You are to observe neither yourself or officers are allowd to take any private adventure with them either to dispose of on the coast, or on board to your ships company, under any pretence whatever on penalty of forfeiting the whole to us, as well as all your or their privilege, wages, & every other emolument. Be frugal in your disbursements, & advise us of your proceedings by every opportunity. Exert your self to make all possible dispatch, at every place you touch at, as dispatch is the life of a Guinea Voyage. Take money of the gentlemen who sell our Negroes, to pay port charges, half wages, privilege etc

We are, wishing you a good voyage & safe return

Your friends & owners
John Chilcott
P Protheroe
T Lucas & Son
James Rogers

P. S. As an inducement to your chief mate Mr William Rendall, to exert himself in doing his duty, we allow his privilege to be two good merchantable negroes taken out of the cargo in the West Indias, & not on an average with the cargo as express'd in the above orders. If you should have the swelling or scurvey among your Negroes, we must insist on your doctors making use of the iron & lime juice[614] as per receipt. It is more efficatious than any other medecine indeed if properly applyd, it will never fail of success. You are to go down the south side of Tobago, & about three parts of the island down you'll see a high hill, towards the west end is the town of Scarbrough where you are to stop, & send an express to Mr Thomas Bird, if he is not on the spot. In case of your mortality which hope God will prevent, your chief mate Mr William Rendall is to succeed you in command, & in case of his mortality, your second mate, & so on in succession.

I do hereby acknowledge to have received a copy of the foregoing orders, which I promise to obey, under penalty of forfeiting my wages privilege & commissions. witness my hand this 4th August 1776

Thomas Baker

[79] The National Archives, Kew, T 70/1534, John Cockburn, Bristol, to Richard Miles,[615] Africa, 30 November 1776

Your esteem'd favour per Mr Bartlett with the seeds came safe to hand and am much obliged to you for the seeds. I wrote you on the 2nd August per the *Africa* Captain Baker and sent you newspapers, magazines &c &c which you will never receive, for the poor fellow happened to fall in with a rebel privateer off the coast of Portugal a few days after he left this place, and engaged & beat her off for six hours, and would in all probability have got clear of her, but by some accident she (the *Africa*) blew

614 A common anti-scorbutic treatment for scurvy.

615 He served with the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa for over eighteen years, becoming chief of several West African forts before becoming governor of Cape Coast Castle between 1777 and 1780. Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*, p. 254.

up and every soul on board but perish'd. The surviving 3 were afore the mast that's to say foremast men & taken up by the privateer, two of whom entered immediately, and the other one came home.

I hope you received my letter by Captain Robe. I find there are letters from him a day or two agoe dated in July and sorry to hear the times are so bad. Depend on it that you will have slaves in greater plenty 'ere you've more ships for the payments in the West Indies are so very long & uncertain that until times mend there few or no ships will be fitted out. There has not been one fitted out of this place since the *Africa* in July last. Indeed all the Guineamen belonging to this port are in government service as transports.[616]

It was a very unfortunate affair the manner of Captain Taylor's death. He is much lamented in this place as he was a very good kind of young man. Smith in the *Phoenix*[617] is not got home yet. Though we have account of his being at Jamaica some time since, he very probably waits there for convoy.

Marshall poor fellow has had a long spell by the walls. However, he is in good health, and I fancy writes you by this opportunity.

I had the pleasure of seeing your brother at Bristol. He came here with Mr Bartlett, and I believe stay'd two months. He was drinking the water at the hot well[618] some time for his health, and I believe found benefit therefrom. I think he was recall'd to London rather too soon for I'm informed he has been very ill since he has been in town. I have desired him to send you the magazines & newspapers by the storeship. I will take care to send em to you by any ship that goes from this port.

Our friend Bell[619] sail'd from Portsmouth on Wednesday last in the fleet for Grenada to secure his effects there. The gentlemen whose hands they were in being dead, he thought his presence there absolutely necessary, and I think he was quite right. You cannot conceive the risque & trouble you will have in realizing your effects, though you get it into your own hands. The present prices of slaves in Jamaica and all the islands are very low and the payments very long date not in bills or anything you can cut up only obligations to remit in seven & twenty, thirty, or six & thirty months.[620] What think you of this method of transacting business? I hope you will let the times mend ere you begin to realise or not do it in slaves. Teeth makes very good remittances. With these you run no risque of the stopping of Jamaica houses in London. Two or three very capital ones have been under a cloud rather lately, & where it will end God alone knows.

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616 i.e. adapted for carrying troops and provisions in the American War of Independence.

617 The *Phoenix*, John Smith master, John Powell, Son & Co., owners, left Bristol on 20 July 1775, traded at Anomabu, delivered slaves to Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 24 Jan. 1777. Smith replaced the original master, Charles Taylor, who drowned. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 67. Another source states that the ship embarked 359 imputed slaves at Anomabu and disembarked an imputed 328 slaves in Jamaica. Voyage ID 17880 in www.slavevoyages.org

618 The Hotwell was a pump room and lodgings near a natural spring on the River Avon in Bristol which opened in 1696 and served as a spa for visitors in search of the spring's curative powers for diseases including tuberculosis. The spa was demolished in 1822. Vincent Waite, *The Bristol Hotwell* (Bristol, 1960).

619 Probably Charles Bell of Bristol, later Kelso, Scotland, who was governor of Anomabu in 1772. He pursued mercantile activities in the West Indies, and was living in Grenada in 1777. Some of his correspondence (for 1772-1800) is available at Bristol Archives, acc. 30189/2.

620 These long credit terms were intended to attract planters who would have plenty of time to pay for their slave purchases.

For news I must beg leave to refer you to the papers which your brother will send you. I wish most heartily the American affairs were settled that we might have time to take proper notice of the French & Spanish behaviour.[621]

Dunn is in London and I dare say will drop you a line. I fear he made but an indifferent voyage of it. He is a very honest fellow. Gullan is down in Scotland and Chilcott is here by the walls. It will be a long time I fear before you see either of 'em again.

Adieu my dear friend, wishing you health & all happiness.

Shall be glad of a line from you by every opportunity.

[80] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, W. Lassalle,[622] Africa, to James Rogers, Bristol, 16 December 1782, James Rogers Papers

This is to acquaint you of my arrival here on the 10th instant. Made Cape Mount on the 19th October and have been trading all the way down here. I have near two tuns of ivory on board or thereabouts. I am sorry to say Captain Wright[623] is not here, & I have every reason to think that he is taken. I parted company on the 12th September being chaced by four large ships which I took to be frigates; we saw them at day light then to the north ward of us, standing to the east ward wind at south west light airs & favourable. At 6 a.m. they all tack'd after us and as I did not make sail I found they gain'd on us. At 9 a.m. I spoke Captain Wright & told him I shou'd keep my wind as I cou'd [be] of no service to him. He told me thought it was my best way. I then kept my wind to sett my small sails & by 12 meridian I was between two & three leagues right in the winds eye of the *Lyon*. The *Lyon* at this time took in her top gallant sails haul'd of her course hoisted her colours fired a gun to Leward & hove to. I then tacked to the east ward & took in my top gallant sails the ships in chace taking no notice of what the *Lyon* did. They made sail again. I stood on to the east ward til 3 p.m. I then tacked to the leward till about 5 ditto, the ships gaining on the *Lyon* & they bearing WSW about 5 leagues. The wind then at SE I [illegible] and stood to the NE till near east & when I could do nothing of them I then stood to WNW & west quarter till 12 midnight in which time I turn[ed] 56 miles. I then haul'd my wind & stood to the second, & saw nothing till I got in the latitude 34 North & 17 10 west longitude when I was chaced by a ship in near 24 hours which I took to be the *Jupiter* but did not spake her.

I hope to be off the coast in March. I think it will be prudent to get one thousand pound more underwrote on the vessel & cargo & if Messrs Jefferies & Slade do not think it advisable you'l do for us four moieties. There is nothing more to advise you about at present but Mr Smith & myself are well my people have been sick but all are now on the recovery. I shall this afternoon sail for Anamaboe where I shall lay a day or two to buy Cloath. Captainn Farrier is here about half slav'd who I leave this with to carry or send by the first conveyance. Likewise there is here one Captain

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621 From 1776 onwards Spain provided military supplies to the newly independent United States. France also shipped supplies to the Americans. Spain was allied to France through the Bourbon family compact.

622 Master of the Brig *Tryall*.

623 Mungo Wright.

Ablewhite in the ship *Eagle* of Liverpool[624] who came in here the same time we did. I have no more to say at present but my best respect to your good lady & family.

[81] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, William Webb, Dominica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 25 November 1784

Since my last of the 15th instant I have sold a great many things, but not to a good advantage, and am afraid shall have a good deal of goods lay upon hands. The town is full of goods of all sorts and arrivals from all parts every week. There is number of people waiting here and doing little in expectation of a free port[625] which I hope will be the case.

Messrs MacKenzie & MacCarthy who were speaking to me to take 100 hogsheads of sugars have declined shipping. They have engaged to ship 100 packages from St Lucia by Pocock, and shall have but a small matter to ship by the brigg. I have seen Mr Powell who has promised to ship all he can get ready and the vessel coming out immediately he will retain the whole crop for her to ship in June & July. 40 hogsheads will be the most he can get ready by the beginning of February; by July he will have 120 ready sugars coffee Alleyne's estate[626] will make from 60 to seventy. They will be late, and am afraid shall get none of them this voyage. I propose purchasing molasses, sugars, coffee and some cotton to freight home, and if can not fill the brigg shall send her away to come out again immediately when I shall have a full load ready for her.

If either of the Captain Robes shall sell here, shall buy some Negroes from them upon our joint accounts as could tell where to place them in the island to advantage. If I could have three small vessels from 100 to 180 Negroes call upon me in the year, I could take them up and remit the money home long before the bills should become due. If you would stand my guarantee for such vessels shall be glad to know upon what terms. Larger vessels would not be convenient as the undertaking would be more than I would wish. There are some of my St Domingo[627] acquaintances up here now to purchase slaves of Arnold & Bruce[628] but they do not bring the cash with them and you cannot sell a large cargo without sending a great many off the islands. I am not now in the least doubt of doing very well here and if made a free port will be by far the best Island in the West Indies.

The goods from Pierce are laid in from 15 to 20 per cent higher than those from Liverpool. The nails & ironmongery from 15 to 40 per cent higher, and where that is the case if we do not go to the manufacturers we shall always be undersold & lose money. Lucas's Bristol been there are a great deal broke & run out. Shall have a survey upon it and tak[e] an account of the whole is broke. The cyder is really excellent. molasses for the distillers I think will be a very good remittance it is sold

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624 The *Eagle*, John Heblethwaite master, John Gregson, James Gregson, George Case, James Aspinall, Richard Wicksted, William Gregson jr, Edward Falkner, Edward Wilson owners, left Liverpool on 24 July 1781, embarked 400 imputed slaves at Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 388 imputed slaves at Tortola, and returned to Liverpool on 17 July 1782. Voyage ID 81094 in www.slavevoyages.org

625 In 1785 the merchants of Dominica petitioned the Board of Trade that free ports should be reopened on the island. Dominica was made a free port again by 1787 under 27 Geo. III c. 27. Frances Armytage, *The Free Port System in the British West Indies: A Study in Commercial Policy, 1766-1822* (London, 1953), pp. 55, 141.

626 Mount Alleyne estate, Dominica. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1284.

627 i.e. Saint-Domingue.

628 An indication that slaves were sometimes purchased in the Windward Islands by non-British buyers.

at about £3 10/ of 64 gallons a gallon weighs 10½ lbs and if can get it over here and have certificate for it shall ship 50 hogsheads of 11 gallons.

I must intreat you to send the prices current of every West Indian article and American, as we have sometimes opportunitys of buying articles very cheap from the Americans. There is cod oil here, which if I could get a certificate from Newfoundland or Halifax[629] would make a very great remittance. Salt fish sells very well here the whole of the hurricane months[630] & Prince Ruperts Bay[631] is a good harbour as any in the West Indies to lay in.

Sugars 32 to 40/ per 100 lbs
Coffee 10¼- 10½ per lb
Cotton 190/ to 210/ for 100 lbs
Cocoa 6d to 7d per lb

[82] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, James Baillie, London, to James Rogers, Bristol, 13 April 1785, James Rogers Papers

We received this morning your much esteemed favour of yesterday's date, informing of your intention of sending your ship *Pearl* to Bonny & requesting our guarantee, for the islands of St Vincent, Dominica & Grenada, which we hereby grant, obliging ourselves to accept & pay whatever bills may be drawn or remitted for the proceeds of said vessel's cargo by the undermentioned houses, who we beg leave to recommend to your good offices.

St Vincent Messrs Baillie & Hamilton
Grenada Messrs Campbell, Baillie & Co.[632]
Dominica Messrs Jennings, Arnold & Bruce

[83] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, Samuel & Thomas Taylor,[633] Manchester, to James Rogers, Bristol, 20 April 1785, James Rogers Papers

When you was so obliging as to give me your order for the *Pearl* I asked your permission (as we should not be able to do the whole) to give part of it to our neighbours which you was so obliging as to permit, but I find that we cannot get the assistance we expected in your time. Mr Charles Ford & Messrs Robinson & Heywood[634] will take each 500 pieces to be ready the first of June and we can do the remaining 1100 pieces at that time. It happens that our [illegible] are the middle of May & we have no work done in that week or for some days after that we can depend upon little at that time. The mixt phottaes are the worst article to trade & get workd of any in the trade & hope if we should be a few short of them at the time you'l let us

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629 In Nova Scotia.

630 The hurricane period in the Caribbean lasts from about 1 July to 1 November.

631 Located in north-west Dominica.

632 Thomas Campbell, James Baillie & Co., slave factors in Grenada. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 493.

633 Check manufacturers, Manchester. Kenneth Morgan, ed., *An American Quaker in the British Isles: The Travel Journals of Jabez Maud Fisher, 1775-1779* (Oxford, 1992), p. 286.

634 Manchester cloth suppliers. Denise Jones, 'Robert Bostock of Liverpool and the British Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1789-93' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, p. 72.

put in a few tearing ones. The demand for goods for the Bite is very great & most of the houses are engagd for what they can do for six weeks or two months to come & hope the above time we sent you from.

[84] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, Sargent, Chambers & Co., London, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 June 1785, James Rogers Papers

We have before us your favour of 11th instant mentioning that your brig is intended for Andona[635] a place we are not acquainted with further than we think it is in the Bite of Benin & in such a situation we are at a loss to know what colour your 170 common romals are to be, whether the best red at 15/- the common narrower sort at 12/- mixed romalls at 13/- or blue at 14/-. Mr Ingram[636] of Liverpool has just sent the *Blade* and the *Elliott*[637] to Lagos & for the Bite trade in general, & has taken a large quantity of blue & white & some red & white calico handkerchiefs al superfine at 2/- per handkerchief or 20/- a piece. We mention this for your government. He had likewise a quantity of cuttanees & silk romalls & if your ship is for the same trade we can be more particular. Waiting the favour of your answer we remain with much respect.

[85] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, William Webb, Dominica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 21 July 1785, James Rogers Papers

My letter via Lverpool date 6th July I beg you to refer to a copy of which you have here enclosed.

I have received no answers yet to the letters I wrote to different islands although there is a vessel from Antigua today therefore can say nothing further respecting the *Diana*. The porter is very badly packed this time and upon an average dare say lose one third The white biscuit is very coarse and quite mouldy. The potatoes are worth nothing and the butter very indifferent. The casks are not fit for this country & would not have such packages by any means ever sent here they have lining hoops in them. We are so amazingly burdened with taxes now that it is impossible to [illegible] every hogshead. Sugar pays 10/ and coffee 8/3.

Relative to the taking up the Guinea men here it is so precarious to trust the Frenchmen the other side that after selling them at a long credit and a limit a certain loss upon remitting the funds to England we have all our trouble for nothing on this side the water. Therefore I think 2 per cent for the guarantee would be as much as I could give and endeavour not to let you be in advance.

The Liverpool men they sell the cargoes at 5 per cent and stand to no bad debts their remittances are upon account of the owners of the cargoes which is a plan amongst themselves where they are not guaranteed.

When any of your vessels are to come here I shall be glad to know the time they might arrive and to order the captains to write from the coast to let me know when

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635 Probably a reference to Andoney in the Bight of Biafra. J. B. Walker, 'Note on the Old Calabar and Cross Rivers,' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 16 (1871-2), p. 136.

636 i. e. Francis Ingram: see document no. 72.

637 The *Elliott*, John Cleminson master, Christopher Butler, Francis Ingram, John Cleminson, Peter Baker, John Dawson, John Keyes, David Tuohy, James Carruthers owners, left Liverpool on 29 June 1785, embarked 980 imputed slaves at Anomabu and Lagos, disembarked 898 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 26 July 1786. Voyage ID 81248 in www.slavevoyages.org.

they sail so as I might engage their cargoes before they arrive.

The plan I wrote you which you have inclosed in fitting out from France is by far the most eligible one I can form and as I am so well acquainted at Jacmel[638] and Aux Cayes[639] might make a very pretty fortune for both in a short time as I wrote you from Jamaica that the Guineaman fitted from France have 48 livres tournois for every ton she can carry & 4 guineas per head of Negro that she sells in Aux Cayes with the priviledge that the slaves coming from the cargoes if not paid for the day they are due they might levy upon the house household furniture & house Negroes without ceremony or at least a very little.

If Captain Webb had come out I should have gone home myself in the brigg to put this plan in execution but as it is shall depend upon your careful arrangements in France for the purpose to very particular that everything is properly put in regulation. Igbo slave from £10 to £12 currency less worth than 10d on Gold Coast.

[86] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, Campbell, Baillie & Co., Grenada, to James Rogers & Co., 3 October 1785, James Rogers Papers

By your ship *Commerce* Captain John Blake who arrived here a few days ago, we have your favour of 8 September advising that your ship *Pearle*[640] Captain Stephen Madge had sailed for Bonny the 13 July with orders to proceed direct to our address, and that you hope Captain Madge will bring say purchase 550 negroes. We have to thank you most sincerely for the confidential manner in which you offer us the consignment of this cargoe, which will command our very best exertions for your interest in case Captain Madge on his arrival here shall be induced by the then state of our market (which we will most faithfully report to him) to sit down with us, and you may rely on it, we will not advise so to do if a better prospect should offer anywhere further to leeward.

Of the present state of our market, you may form some judgment when we tell you that 273 slaves of the *Alexander*'s cargoe from Bonny[641] being all that were merchantable & sold in our yard produced an average of £35 5s. 5d. Captain McTaggart had the misfortune to buy a great many, & sold here at vendue 34 so meagre & sickly as to produce very little & reduced his general average to £32 2s. 11d. but this would not be the case with a healthy cargoe & prime as you would

638 A port town on the south coast of Saint-Domingue.

639 In Saint-Domingue.

640 The *Pearl*, Stephen Madge master, James Rogers, John Powell, James Cross, William Tapscott and James Williams owners, left Bristol on 13 July 1785, embarked 437 slaves at Bonny, disembarked 385/392/400 slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 10 June 1786. The gross slave sales on 385 slaves amounted to £13,740 19s. 4d. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 105; voyage ID 17957 in www.slavevoyages.org; TNA, CO 106/3, Grenada, Miscellanea, Shipping Returns.

641 The *Alexander*, John McTaggart master, left Bristol on 28 Apr. 1785, embarked 335 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 300/307 slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 10 Feb. 1786. The gross slave sales on 273 slaves amounted to £9,629 7s. 7d. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 100; voyage ID 17948 in www.slavevoyages.org; TNA, CO 106/3, Grenada, Miscellanea, Shipping Returns.

perceive by our sales of the *Sally* Captain Archibald Robe last February.[642] That was the best & healthiest cargo we have seen since the peace.

As to the sight of our bills, we are very sorry to find that our island payments will not enable us with safety to draw our bills at the sights you hope for. 12, 15, 18 & 21 months have been the shortest we have yet drawn. Our bills for the *Sally*'s cargoe were & the *Alexander*'s are at those sights. Several other cargoes which we have sold in the months of May to September have been at 15, 18 & 21 months in order to reach the two ensuing crops, to which our planters always look forward when they buy slaves. If shorter bills are obtained elsewhere it must be at such a sacrifice in point of price as we are sure our friends in general would not like in our sales.

We have the pleasure to let you know that your ship *Pearl* was just arrived at Bonny when Captain McTaggart left that river the 15 September. He will inform you what ships were before her.

[87] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, James R. Maud,[643] Antigua, to James Rogers, Bristol, 26 November 1785, James Rogers Papers

The foregoing are copies of my last to you, as well as what I have since written Mr Webb[644] by your ship *Diana*, who sailed from hence for Dominica the 24th Instant perfectly refitted to the satisfaction of Captain Walker which I suppose both of them will take the first opportunity of acquainting you with after her arrival there, as well as of the cost of doing it, agreeable to my account. Delivered the latter amounting in the whole to £232 4s. 3d currency. As Captain Walker brought some articles with him he wished to dispose of here, as they were unsaleable at Dominica, I took from him the amount of my account except £50 sterling for which he gave me his bill on your good self dated the 22nd Instant at 30 days sight, which I have not the least doubt will meet due honour.

As I am confident no pains or diligence has been wanting in compleating this business with such expedition, & that the charge of the carpenters are so reasonable, it will give me pleasure to convey to the the approbation of the same, as I have given them my assurances of the preference of what business I have in their line; if should should, as I do, approve of what they have done in this transaction, a few lines from you on that subject therefore as well as any other you may favour me with, will very much oblige him that will think himself happy to render you any services in this part of the world, & begs that you will at all times freely command.

[88] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, James R. Maud, Antigua, to James Rogers, 30 November 1785, James Rogers Papers

The preceding is copy of my last to which refer you, hoping that by the time this

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642 The *Sally*, Archibald Robe master, John Naylor, James Rogers, Gavin Allanson owners, left Bristol on 7 July 1784, embarked 489 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 443/448/450 slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 20 May 1785. The gross sales on 410 slaves amounted to £14,500. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 97. Voyage ID 17942 in www.slavevoyages.org; TNA, CO 106/3, Grenada, Miscellanea, Shipping Returns.

643 James Richards Maud, an attorney for Sarah Summers in Antigua in 1785. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. 3, p. 348.

644 William Webb of Dominica: see document no. 81.

reaches your hands, or soon after, you will see Captain Walker.

In a letter from a friend & well wisher of mine lately reced from Bristol, he mentions the following: 'When you write me see what you can do with a small cargoe of about 200 Negroes & what country has the preference. I spoke to our friend Rogers who has a vessel of that kind about now arrived in your behalf, but security was the object; is there no managing that matter, for tis the only business worth follow it will give me great pleasure to be instrumental in any manner to serve you.

You will of course guess the author, & I hold myself greatly obliged to him for his friendly endeavours to be of service to me. At present however I cannot take upon me to say I can with any degree of certainty offer you such security as you might probably expect, but had I such a cargoe (or as far as 300) now to dispose of or in the space of 3 or 4 months hence any such should arrive in good order, young & healthy, of Eboes,[645] Windward Coast, or indeed almost from any Country in that situation I am confident I could dispose of that number to about 15 or 20 estates whose credit is undoubted & whose payments I could rely on so far that I should be enabled to make satisfactory remittances to the concerned & if allowed latitude to accept of good sugars in payment. It might make a difference in the average of 30/ to 40/ & the payments at a much shorter time. I shall not however be further particular at present, as I will request my friend Sir James Laroche to call on you on this business. In the meantime however you may rest assured that should I be so happy as to be favoured with any of yours or your friends commands, in this or any other line of business the greatest honesty & punctuality in the transacting it may be depended upon from him who remains with great truth & regard.

The island at present has a fine prospect of a crop, but begins to want a little rain. I informed Captn Walker that should you incline to send him back for a load here I would do my utmost to obtain one either for London or Bristol & indeed at present think there is no doubt of one, if he arrives here by April or May.

[89] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Stephen Madge,[646] Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 26 March 1786, James Rogers Papers

I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my anchoring here last night, and the present opportunity offers by way of Liverpool for writing. Have applyed to Camble & Bayley[647] who sells the cargo, and have advertiz'd the sale for the 31st instant of 400 slaves 350 of which are in prime order, but the bills are at 15, 18 & 21 months. Had I arriv'd a month sooner shou'd have had the remittances as you express'd in your letters address'd to me at Barbadoes.

In a few days a ship will sail from hence to London, when shall give you a more perfect account of the sales. Hope to see you by the middle of June. The *Sally* Captain Robe I left in the river, wanting then about fifty slaves, so that in all probability she may arrive here soon. My passage from Bonny to this place was eight weeks. Have lost by mortality 42 slaves out of 437, which was all my purchase. Should advise you to drop this trade at least for some time.

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645 i.e. Igbos, the main ethnic African group entering the slave trade at the Bight of Biafra.

646 Captain of the ship *Pearl*: see document no. 86.

647 Thomas Campbell, James Baillie & Co.: see document no. 82.

[90] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, James R. Maud, Antigua, to James Rogers, 30 July 1786, James Rogers Papers

Your esteemed favours of the 15 January the 4th & 21st April I duely receivd and though I have not since wrote you, you may depend my utmost efforts were exerted to obtain a load for Captain Walker of your ship the *Diana*, which I make no doubt of, he acquainted you immediately after his seeing me after his promise to me. I was a little indisposed just about the time of Captain Walker's arrival, which prevented my writing to you, but desired my friend Sir James Laroche in my letters of the 20th & 24th June to acquaint you with the needful on that subject, & what exertions I had made use of to get a load for him, but could not succeed. I hope you will approve of the mode I used to stop him at Dominica, which I thought the most prudent method. In a letter I received from Captain Walker a few days ago, he informs me that he has a probability of getting a load from thence in which I sincerely wish he may not be disappointed.

I am much obliged for your friendly intentions of sending a cargo of Negroes to my address. I had a long conversation with Captain Walker upon the subject concerning the size, age & sex that I apprehended would meet with the most ready sale here, which he will also acquaint you with. In the meantime I think a cargoe of 300 well assorted, such as young men & boys, young women and women girls from a good country could not fail of selling well here the beginning of next year, especially if latitude could be given to take a proportion of the proceeds in payment, such as good sugar to be remittd by the vessel as at present there is the greatest prospect of a large crop next year than has been known for many years, & Negroes much wanted.

Windward Coast Negroes has the preference but should they be Eboes avoid grown men as much as possible & let the majority be young women with boys & girls in proportion & the same with other countries. Congo will do pretty well, but by no means Coromantees as they are generally troublesome & do not like controul.[648]

Shall very shortly expect to have the pleasure of hearing from you upon this business & you may depend that any of this or any other kind you may be pleas'd to commit to my care to transact for you shall be faithfully & readily executed.

[91] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, Sargent, Chambers & Co., London, to James Rogers, Bristol, 4 October 1786, James Rogers Papers

We are favoured with yours of yesterday enclosing three bills value three thousand five hundred & eighty two pounds 8s. 10d. in full for your divisions on our notes for the *Sally*, *Pearl* and *Little Pearl*[649] as per particulars at foot for which we are much obliged to you & remain with much respect & esteem.

£507 2s. 0d division on the *Sally* supplied June 1785

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648 An indication of the preference of slave traders for some groups of Africans rather than others. The Coromantees had a reputation in the later eighteenth century for being insolent, disaffected and rebellious. Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Cambridge, MA, 2020), p. 226.

649 The *Little Pearl*, Joseph Williams master, William Tapscott, James Williams, John Powell, James Rogers owners, left Bristol on 23 July 1785, embarked 169 imputed slaves at Andony and Calabar, disembarked 102 slaves in Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 9 May 1786. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 104; voyage ID 17955 in www.slavevoyages.org.

£2,409 2s. 0d. *Pearl*'s cargo June 1785
£657 7s. 0d. *Little Pearl* ditto
£8 17s. 10d. interest
£3,582 8s. 10d.

[92] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Richard Rogers, Bananas Islands,[650] to James Rogers, Bristol, 15 January 1787, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity per ship *Jimmy* Captain Boarstil. Likewise sent one to Mr Jarvis per same as the ship is bound to Antigua & to inform him I expect to sail in one month at farthest, but am very sorry Mr Cleaveland[651] detains me longer than my agreement which is up the 20th Instant. I might sail soon after the above time would I take indifferent slaves, but my opinion is it will be better to stay 14 or 15 days longer to get young slaves according to my owm liking. Have pressed him very much concerning my detention & I have brought him down to 145 bars which will enable me to pay for 52 slaves & two tons of rice at 120 bars per ton. Are very sorry the voyage have such poor prospect but slaves might be purchased for a cargo amount to £16 per head with a suitable assortment for this part of the coast. Was it not for fear of your displeasure I could pick up a cargo in Statia[652] for the *Fly* & send Mr Kennedy back here the cargo to amount about £700 for 53 or 54 slaves but shall advise with Mr Jarvis on the subject as I know no trade she is fit for drawing such a deal of water. The Liverpool captain cannot relish the sight of a Bristol ship coming for slaves.

Sir, should you think of trying the Windward coast on a larger scale camwood can be laid in at 14 per ton, ivory very scarce. Can venture to say slaves at £16 per head, but the purchase would be long (say 8 or 9 months for 400 slaves).

Shall mention more particular when arrive in Antigua. My people remains in perfect health.

[93] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Richard Rogers, Antigua, to James Rogers, Bristol, 1 April 1787, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity been my first since arrived in this island which was the 25 Instant with the whole of my cargo purchased amount to 53 slaves all in perfect health & good order except one man boy & one girl the boy is recovering very fast. Should imagine will sell from 20 to 30 pounds sterling. The cost is likewise in the island & is worth from £18 to 20 sterling.

Have had a very sickly vessel with flux & other disorders but by God's help saved them all my sale sugar yesterday is disposed of 20 out of my small number. The men are brave fellows. They sold for £45 per head but are afraid shall make

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650 Small islands off the Sierra Leone coast.

651 William and James Cleveland, uncle and nephew, were prominent traders at the Banana Islands and Sherbro in Sierra Leone. Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, 'African Agency and the Liverpool Slave Trade' and Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-1808' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 37-8, 53; Deirdre Coleman, *Henry Smeathman, the Flycatcher: Natural History, Slavery, and Empire in the late Eighteenth Century* (Liverpool, 2018), p. 88.

652 i.e. St Eustatius.

but an indifferent average[653] owing to money being very scarce in this place. Had I proceeded with such a cargo as mine to Jamaica am certain should average 45 sterling per head this been [i.e. being] no markett for Windward Coast slaves more than Bight Negroes.

Received 2 letters from Captain Grumley desiring me for to lett him have the vessell & as a passage offers almost immediately for Bristol, shall send Mr Kennedy down with the vessel to take my passage in the *Hermitt* Captain Barge. Can with some degree of satisfaction Inform you of every person as have seen my cargo approves of them but selling in this island I am afraid will oversett our voyage.

Conclude Sir hoping my endeavours may recommend me to your future favour.

P. S. I dare say you wonder at Mr Rogers receiving a letter from the coast to you not but I did not need but for I enclosed one to you in that sent to Mr James[654] & since my arrival understand he neglected forwarding of him to Bristol. I have him now in my possession.

[94] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/1, Jacob Jarvis,[655] Antigua, to James Rogers, Bristol, 2 April 1787, James Rogers

Your cutter sloop *Fly*[656] arrived here on Sunday the 25th March in thirty days from the coast with fifty three slaves viz 19 men, 16 boys 8 Women 10 girls. One girl & one boy very poor, the men in general very good boys & girls very small – the women unsaleable – although the whole are healthy and every commendation is due to Captain Rogers for his assiduity and cleaverness in bringing off so many people in so small a vessel, yet I am afraid I shall not turn you out any great average owing to the mode which I have adopted in selling them for bills at 12 months sight, which at once closes the concern.

The great losses arising here to Guinea factors[657] in selling their slaves to everyone who offers to be a purchaser, taking their bond as surety, which is of little consequence - & by taking rum, which is always too high here, for any foreign market – it is from this alone such very heavy losses arise to the factor. Indeed I scarcely have any mode of remitting. Not a single payment of any kind have I yet received from the country: The planters are all pushing for a market, and the merchant must wait the end of it. I did promise Blake to transmit you the full amount of the sales of your males by *Ranger* but that was impossible as *Ranger* sailed much sooner than I expected – and it is out of my power to compel the planters to pay – they must take their own time.

You have herewith accounts sales, disbursements and account current balance in your favour £14 43 17 1 and now remitted in bills at 12 15 & 18 months sight upon our mutual friend Messrs William & John Gordon of Bristol.[658]

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653 This is the term slave traders used for the mean sale price of a slave cargo. Owners often expected ship captains to achieve a specified 'average' in their slave sales.

654 William James of Liverpool: see document no. 72.

655 Jacob Jarvis, baptised 17 Jan. 1752 at St John's Church, Antigua, d. 29 June 1791 in Trinidad. Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. 2, p. 99.

656 The *Fly*, Richard Rogers master, later replaced by John Kennedy master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 29 Aug. 1786, traded for slaves on the Windward Coast, sold 53 slaves at Antigua, and returned to Bristol c. 2 June 1787. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 112. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 17969 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel embarked 68 imputed slaves at Sherbro.

657 i.e. factors who sold slaves in the Caribbean on behalf of British merchants.

658 The Gordons were Bristol sugar merchants. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, pp. 194-5.

Wishing you your health

P. S. In order to strengthen my security to Messrs Gordon I have proposed to admit Messrs Wilding & Smith in half the commission – merely that they should indorse every bill which I receive for the sales of Negroes and to visit the neighbouring islands upon an emergency. Tthis mode I hope will be satisfactory as it gives permanency to every department.

[95] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, William & Samuel Rawlinson,[659] Manchester to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 June 1787

We have the pleasure of your favour of the 7th instant and at foot you have the prices of the goods you expressed. The credit of this place is generally 12 months but the payment for African Goods has been extended much longer even to 18 months by some houses. We allow 10 per cent on our early remittance say in course of a month and bill agreeable to what you mention.

No house whatever can serve you more to satisfaction than ours dealing very extensively in that branch, & being always acquainted with the patterns which have a preference at the different parts of the coast.

Mixed romalls	15 /	9/
Photaes	14 yards 15s 2d:	16s 6d
Cushtaes mixed	10 yards	10/
Brawls	¾	
Photaes mixed	14 yards	14/

[96] The National Archives, Kew, C107/7, Thomas Walker, Bance Island,[660] to James Rogers, Bristol, 23 June 1787, James Rogers Papers

I take this favourable opportunity of informing you of my safe arrival here after a passage of thirty days. Times on the coast is by no means as favourable as I expected. Slaves is at the price of 150 barrs and the coast seems to be pretty well lin'd with vessels of all kinds. I have made a purchase of eleven prime slaves and this day am going down the river and to proceed down the coast as far as possible, staying a day or so at every place of trade. I don't expect to get off in less than five or six months, but as soon as the *Fly* do arrive I am determined if possible to send one or the other off to South Carolina. I make no doubt of doing well.

I find by Captain Williams letters that I brought him that mallageta pepper is at the price of £150 per ton if so I shall purchase all I can as the prime cost to leeward is very low and the season soon will be in for it. Ivory is very scarce and at a innormous price. Mr Teaste's schooner that sail'd for this place is not yet arrived. The *Lion* belonging to him I find is so leaky that they can scarce keep her free.

You will please to stop the monthly pay I ordered to be paid to Mr Ferns as I have turn'd him out of the vessel not by no means being the person I expected. I shall refer you to Captain Williams for every particular. Guns is very much in demand. They will take a dozen on a slave. We are all in good health and I like the rest of my

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659 A large cotton manufacturing firm in Manchester supplying goods for the slave trade. Joseph E. Inikori, 'The Credit Needs of the African Trade and the Development of the Credit Economy in England,' *Explorations in Economic History*, 27 (1990), p. 212.

660 Also known as Bence Island or Bunce Island, it was situated in the Sierra Leone river.

officers very much.

[97] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Thomas Walker, Bananas Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 2 July 1787, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you of my proceedings by Captain Thomas Williams. I have purchased seventeen fine Negros, and am this day proceeding down the coast to try what I can do there. Slaves is at a very great price, Wood & ivory none to be had. I cannot say when I shall be off the coast, but you may be assured I will try every exertion to get to South Carolina. If the *Fly* comes out I hope to dispatch her in a few weeks. I am fearfull I shall not purchase above one hundred Negroes. Guns is very much in demand. You will please to stop Mr Ferns monthly pay, as he has left me.

I have had a small anchor from Captain Williams with a wood stock with you. Will please to return one of the same waite to him, 300 cwt stock & all. I am inform'd that slaves are sold in Charles Town from £46 to 50 cash. If so I think you had better give me orders to sell sell my own cargo and to bring home my voyage with me, as then I can save the factors commissions, which is a grate object.

The rainy months are so distant that the vessels are oblidged to come up here.

[98] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Richard Rogers, London, to James Rogers, Bristol, 2 July 1787, James Rogers Papers

Am very sorry to acquaint you as we shall not be able to accomplish the quantity of India goods as expected. The whole quantity as can gett as follows, about 3600 yards chintz 200 cushtaes if not exceed 30s at the sale. If exceeds that 200 substitutes 25/ 650 / romals if not exceed 13s if exceed that 400 forty photaes at a great price (say 42s) but that is all can be got of them at present 30 pieces of hose shoes at 16s if you had not so many bandanas by at hand wanted 38s. They are to be substitutes for photaes. If they should be so luckey as to get the largest part mention'd of the above goods you can leave the Manchester for the *Juba.*[661] the above goods will amount to about £11000.

As we are so circumstanced hope you will wright to Manchester for the remainder as is mentioned the other side. 300 all cotton cushtaes 259 all cotton romalls of a red mixture 220 all cotton plod photaes if have none of the plads. Please to desire them to send Congerfords. Are certain the disapointment will keep no one more spring. Ludlam & Parry[662] informs me of your bespoke goods three or four months before wanted the creditt & ever commences till the goods are in the Bristol waggons so I think you had better give orders for the *Juba*'s goods as soon as I come to Bristol to make the abstract.

P. S. Have got a guarantee from Messrs Lindo, Aigular & Diago.[663]

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661 The *Juba*, John Kennedy master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 17 Nov. 1787, purchased 230 slaves at Old Calabar, sold 202 slaves at St Vincent, and returned to Bristol on 27 Nov. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 126; voyage ID 17997 in www.slavevoyages.org

662 Linendrapers, 33 Poultry, London. *The London Directory for the Year 1776*..., 9th edn. (London, 1776), p. 106.

663 Lindo, Aguilar & Dias, a London merchant house with mercantile family connections with Jamaica. Nicholas Radburn, 'Guinea Factors, Slave Sales, and the Profits of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in Late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: The Case of John Tailyour,' *WMQ*, 72, no. 2 (2015), p. 259.

[99] St John's College, Cambridge, Extracts from the diary of Thomas Clarkson, 3 July 1787[664]

Tuesday July 3rd

In crossing the ferry from Mr Teaste's yard,[665] I saw a boat painted *Africa* on her stern coming to the same landing place. On inquiring of the crew whether they belonged to the *Africa*, a vessel in the slave trade, they answered, yes.

I told one of them that I wondered how any seamen would go to Africa, and if he was not afraid. To this he answered in the following words. If it is my lot to die in Africa, why I must, and if it is not, why then I shall not die though I go there. And if it is my lot to live, why I may as well live there as anywhere else.

The same person told me that the *Brothers*, Captain Howlett, then lying in Kingroad, could not get men, that he was a cruel rascal, that a party of nine had shipped themselves on board him, but that they had all left him on Sunday morning.

I cannot describe my feeling in seeing these poor fellows belonging to the *Africa*. They were seven in number, all of them young, about 22 or 23, and very robust. They were all seamen; and I think the finest fellows I ever beheld. I am sure no one can describe my feelings when I considerd that some of them were devoted, and whatever might be your spirits now, would never see their native home more. I considered also how much the glory of the British flag was diminishing by the destruction of such noble fellows, who appeared so strong, robust, & hardy, and at the same time so spirited as to enable us to bid defiance to the marine of our enemies the French.

[100] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Captain Thomas Walker, Cape Mount, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 October 1787, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you of the safe arrival of my brother in the *Fly* where I have delivered all her cargo up to Mr Cleveland amounting to about 60 slaves, and I hope we shall be both off the latter end of December. I never experienced such trouble in my life as I have this voyage. My three mates has turned out a set of the biggest drunken thieving villains on earth. Had any accident happened to me, the ship and cargo must be totally lost and condemned. I was as ill in July that the doctor despaired of me. But thank God am now in perfect health.

The rains has been so violent it has been most impossible to do anything. Mr Hern and Harrison third mate is died & several of my people & Nicholls is very bad. The doctor is in perfect health. I hope to bring off about 100 slaves.

P.S. I shall deliver the cargoes up according to your last directions by the *Fly* but I must have forty pounds a head. I shall [call] at Barbadoes on Messrs Lytcott & Maxwell[666] to see if there is any further orders.

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664 Thomas Clarkson was a leading abolitionist who interviewed Bristolians connected with the slave trade on a visit to Bristol in the summer of 1787. Hugh Brogan, 'Clarkson, Thomas (1760-1846)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 11 (2004), pp. 937-40; Peter Marshall, *The Anti-Slave Trade Movement in Bristol* (Bristol, 1968), pp. 2-6. Clarkson wrote about his visit to Bristol in *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, 2 vols. (London, 1808), vol. 1, pp. 294-309.

665 i.e. the shipbuilding yard of Sydenham Teaste.

666 Merchants in Barbados. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 542.

[101] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Captain Thomas Walker, St Pauls,[667] to James Rogers, Bristol, 18 October 1787, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you by Captain King of the arrival of the sloop *Fly* with all her cargo is delivered to Mr Cleaveland at the island of Bananas, with the articles in her was what he much wanted and would amount to sixty negroes, but there was about 200 kegs of powder totally damaged and the iron he would not take being cut, but I gave him my iron and 50 kegs of powder. I hope to be able to list her purchase to make it good. The rains has been so violent that I could scarce do anything till this month.

I have suffered as much as any man well could by my mates. I never saw three such drunken wretches come to one man's lot in my life. Hern is died and Harrison and the other not much better & several of my people. I have been exceeding ill myself but at present am in good health. I never had such trials in my life, not one person to rely on in the least & had any accident happened me, the ship & cargo must totally been lost and consumed. I hope we shall both be off by the latter end of December. I hope my cargo will amount to about 100 negroes upwards. There is no certainty of vessels being off this part of the coast according to their expectations, being so often disappointed by the natives and many other circumstances that attend those Windward African voyages. At my arrival at the West Indies if I find the vessels will carry enough rum to send them to the Bananas, and I shall come home in the first vessel from thence, as we must have another vessel that will carry full 200 negroes, with a few large boats and a few sober mates as I can lay an abstract in now greatly to the advantage of another voyage. I am happy to find you have sold the *Diane*.

P. S. I shall [call] at Barbados to see if there are any further orders. I must beg you will not mention to Nicholls friends of his proceedings. I have put 12 slaves goods on the *Fly* and sent her to Mano.[668]

[102] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 29 October 1787, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this per Brigg *Mary* Captain Hensley it being the first opportunity since arrived in that river which was the 4th instant. Am sorry to acquaint you of the very dead times here. On my arrival found no less than eight purchasing ships. Many had been in the river sixteen months & slaves at this instant are very scarce. I have but eleven slaves on board. Many in the river have not purchased half that number in the time.

The Liverpool gentlemen have rose the coomey[669] most extravagantly five hundred per cent more than when I was here before. 500 iron bars for one article, 32 boxes rods, 15 puncheons rum & brandy & cloth in proportion & after that is paid slaves very high at 190 coppers in average. I cannot pretend to say how my purchase will turn out till my coomey is paid which will be finished in about eight days.

The ship *Rodney* will sail in about one month. By her shall be able to write more particular but am afraid shall have a long stay & fall short of my purchase, there being

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667 Probably St Paul river, southeastern Guinea.

668 A coastal town in Sierra Leone.

669 i.e. duty taxes charged to British ships captains before they began trading for slaves in Old Calabar. For examples from that area, see Stephen D. Behrendt, A.J.H. Latham and David Northrup, eds., *The Diary of Antera Duke: An Eighteenth-Century African Slave Trader* (Oxford, 2012), p. 67.

very many cargoes in the river. The *Neptune* Captain McLean arrived 18th instant. Have sent her to Delray,[670] Rumbey[671] and Bimbey[672] to see what can be done. Shall dispatch my pinnace[673] tomorrow to another river to the westward of Sam Shott Point to see if possible what can be done there. Am sorry to say the last tender I had sailed lay alongside her ship 9 months. Came after 500 & carried off but 300 slaves. Captain Williams is at Bimbey but complains of times being very dull there.

You may depend on the utmost exertion. My officers are very agreeable & sober.

[103] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 10 November 1787, James Rogers Papers

This being my second since arrived in the river the first sent per brig *Mary* Captain Hensley of Bristol advising you of the disagreeable sight appeared to me on entering the river which was no less than seven trading ships exclusive of the *Mary* & one tender which had been laying by her ship ten weeks & will not sail in less than one month from this date. The last tender that sail'd lay in the river 9 months came after 500 slaves & carried off but 300. Captain Cumberbatch's tender that left England two days after me arrived 14 days after the *Pearl*.[674] Captain Cumberbatch is an old hander in this river the man that Captain Morgan had the goods from when in the *Pearl*. But on his tender I arrived after being in the river 5 months himself dispatched her to Annabona for stock & seeing no prospect of purchasing slaves to send her off. By that intelligence you may have some idea of the dull times & scarcity of slaves. This opportunity sends per ship *Rodney* Captain Savage which has been in the river 16 months & 14 days his purchase 450 slaves.[675] The ship *Ned* Captain Spencer which is a tender to the *Iris* Captain Potter[676] sails next in about one month. The Ship *Tarleton* Captain Patrick Fairweather[677] sails after with 450 slaves which will be about two months after laying in the river 14 months but observe 3 months living on shore & not purchasing one slave until her second tender arriv'd has sent off the brig & one ship tender with 470 slaves. In the postscript you have the particulars of the vessels here, their number of slaves to purchase & the time have been in the river.

I arriv'd the 4th October after a passage of 6 weeks open'd trade the 16th. Have

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670 i.e. the Rio del Rey estuary, Cameroon.

671 This is unidentified.

672 Bimbia was a slave-trading port in the south-west region of Cameroon.

673 i.e. a ship's boat, propelled by oars or sails.

674 The *Pearl*, Richard Rogers master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 14 July 1787, traded for slaves at Old Calabar, left there with 449 slaves, and proceeded to Barbados and Dominica, where it arrived with 330 slaves. The vessel returned to Bristol on 26 Jan. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 130; voyage ID 18002 in www.slavevoyages.org.

675 The *Rodney*, John Savage master, Thomas Parke, Benjamin Heywood and Thomas Earle, owners, left Liverpool on 14 May 1786, embarked 415 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 380 imputed slaves at Dominica and retrned to Bristol on 28 Mar. 1788. Voyage ID 83365 in www.slavevoyages.org.

676 The *Iris*, Peter Potter master, John Galley, Thomas Pickop, Peter Potter, Charles Bromfield and Elijah Cobham owners, left Liverpool on 20 Mar. 1787, embarked 462 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 423 imputed slaves at Montego Bay, and returned to Liverpool on 5 Feb. 1789. Voyage ID 81913 in www.slavevoyages.org.

677 The *Tarleton*, Patrick Fairweather and Thomas Smith masters, Daniel Backhouse, Thomas, Clayton and John Tarleton owners, left Liverpool on 25 Dec. 1786, embarked 371 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 302 imputed slaves at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 24 June 1788. Voyage ID 83709 in www.slavevoyages.org.

on board & have on board at present 20 slaves & 6 pawns[678] & one half the ships have not purchas'd half that number.[679] The trade is much alter'd. My chintz is in the least demand which was the commanding article last voyage & the coomeys are extravagantly no less than 40,000 coppers which has taken near 150 slaves. The *Neptune* Captain McLean arriv'd the 18th ultimo & in hopes she will be great service to the voyage. The ship's company have been very sickly but have been lucky in mortality. Have buried William Legg joiner the remainder are on recovery fast. The *Neptune* is to the southward. Captain Williams is at Bimbey but complains much of the dull times there. He arrived the 25th Septembr. My pinnace just left him with 18 or 25 slaves on board & 3 cwt of ivory. Ivory is very scarce here. I have picked up about one cwt at the rate as follows. Small teeth from 18/ to 30/ at about 18d per lb scarbillias[680] @ 10d per lb. Palm oil have none yet but shall fill all my empty liquor cask as that article will soon fall in price. The other ship almost disposed of their salt. At present it is 2 cwt salt for 1 cwt palm oil in the run of 1 month or 6 weeks shall gett it one for one.

Sir, the coomey has taken away. Such a deal of my cargo shall sale much short of my purchase which induces me to point out this plan which I think woud answer very well & not keep the *Pearl* in the river one day longer but rather shorten her stay & enable me to purchase more & better slaves likewise ivory if you approve of sending the *Lyon*.[681] If the *Lyon* is not in Bristol youl'd give a schooner about the size of Captain Frazer's the preference to leave England as soon as possible after you receive this & then will be able to be here in 9 months at farthest, if sooner the better with assortment for 100 slaves & I will venture to engage to dispatch her in a very small time I hope in eight or nine days & as I am in want of a deal of goods to complete my purchase I shou'd be very thankfull for the assortment as shall mention on the other side & with that assistance I make no doubt of saving the voyage but without that am very sorry to say cannot give you & the good gentlemen that I have the honor to serve any encouragement of the voyage. The stay being so long takes such a deal of the cargo for yams & provisions for slaves & white people. If you find by the advice you can receive from Liverpool there is not above three ships sails from this date to the time you receive this & no more fitting I think you might in safety embrace this plan. The cargoes in the river at present is very heavy but with the assortment I mention & the black friends I have shall do very well. If Mr James Jones[682] or any other person should think of sending a vessel here pray do not discourage him as a

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678 Pawning was an institution that facilitated slave supplies in different parts of West Africa. Pawns were young Africans kept by slave ship captains on the coast as security for entrusting their goods for sale to African agents. They were held as collateral to ensure that slaves were supplied to captains. They were released back to their community after these transactions had been completed. For a detailed description, see Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Pawnship, Debt and "Freedom" in Atlantic Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade: A Reassessment,' *Journal of African History*, 55, no. 1 (2014), pp. 55-78. Pawning is also explained below in document no. 137.

679 This refers to the voyage of the *Fly*: see document no. 94.

680 i.e. scrivellas.

681 The *Lyon*, Thomas and Edward Walker masters, James Rogers owner, left Bristol on 3 May 1787, embarked 100/109/110 slaves at Cape Mount and the Bananas islands, disembarked 106/107/108 slaves at Tortola. Its subsequent fate is unknown. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 128; voyage ID 17999. www.slavevoyages.org.

682 James Jones managed 68 slave voyages from Bristol between 1783 and 1795. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, p. 29.

ship from Bristol will be more service than hurt to me to send goods in the country to pay the slaves that is owed me.

In regard to my stay on this river to slave both vessels I cannot pretend to pass the least idea only if no more ships drop out times will certainly soon mend & as mentiond before is certain the plan with the additional goods will enable me to leave the river sooner than supposing I had not such things coming out & as I have now pointed out the perticulars leave it to your superior judgment for the remainder. Shou'd any vessel come from Bristol to this place & you not think it proper to send no small vessel beg you will send hither or any conveyance from Liverpool if those gentlemen will comply with your request which am afraid they will not. The following articles 300 India romalls print @ 14s. 100 red all cotton manufacture @ 11s. 200 all cotton photaes man @ 14s. 140 Bonny chintz 18 yards India each the whole to be large red patterns such as Messrs Ludlam & Parry show'd me in London. Some of the patterns harlequins. 150 all cotton mar chilloes @ 20s. 8 box rods 6 copper 2 brass 2 ton long iron barrs say 130 per ton 130 groce knives @ 20s. for yams for all the vessels 300 kegs manillas 300 arm manillas not from Mr Hale that has imposed on you as he agreed with me for 15d. & charges 16d. & not so good as Fothergill. Shall have some trouble to put them off & pray send two more of their cargo screw jugs but I think he has charged too high price for that article. I think proper to send a vessel the following abstract must be complied with. Viz. for one slave's goods and for every slave you think proper to send for must be in proportion. Vizt. 2 India 1 Manchester all cotton red romall 1 cushtae substitute India 8 yards photae India 1 Manchester all cotton red photae 1 all cotton chilloe 12 yards Bonny chintz 4 iron bars 2 guns 3 kegs powder 2 leg manillas 4 arm manillas 8 rods 1 white supper cup 2 red ditto 18 spoons 18 knives 1 big bellyd flaggon 1 3 lb batch 1 red green & yellow round beads 1 Guinea stuff 200 flints in the whole of the cargo 50 large Iron potts 6 gallons each. The guns you must by all means get from Liverpool or Birmingham. Mr Parr of Liverpool[683] or Mr Galton of Birmingham[684] who are the only persons that makes the guns for Old Callabar River. Acquaint him they are for this trade at 9/- per gun. In my opinion 'twould be best to give the Birmingham man the preference it being the first vessel he served in Bristol. Herd the gunsmith has used you very indifferent, not finishing his guns like workmen which has caused 'em a deal of trouble to put them off. I shall direct this letter for myself for fear the Liverpool men shou'd break it open. If you think proper to comply with my request depend I will do my utmost for the good of the voyage.

P.S. Ships now lying in the river

Ship *President* Hughes[685] arrived 6 months sails in 4 months 500 slaves

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683 John Parr was a Liverpool slave merchant and gunsmith. Jane Longmore, '"Cemented by the Blood of a Negro"? The Impact of the Slave Trade on Eighteenth-Century Liverpool' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, p. 234.

684 Samuel Galton, a member of a prominent gunmaking firm in Birmingham. Barbara M. D. Smith, 'The Galtons: Quaker Gun merchants and Bankers, 1702-1831,' *Business History*, 9, no.2 (1967), pp. 132-50.

685 The *President*, Joseph Hughes master, Gill Slater, John Robinson, Thomas Ryan, Thomas Staniforth, Joseph Brooks, Jr, William Pole, Thomas Cropper, Thomas Carter, John Bolton, Joseph Matthews, Roger Leathom, Joseph Hughes owners, left Liverpool on 14 Apr. 1787, embarked 328 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 300 imputed slaves in Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 1 July 1788. Voyage ID 83169 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Ellis, Ford[686] been here 16 months sent off 400 slaves sails about 5 months

450 slaves Langdale *Triton* sent off tender 300 slaves has been here 16 months very few slaves on board.

Ship *Iris* tender Potter in 1 month & expects to sail with 600 in 8 months

Gascoigne Cumberbatch[687] sends off his tender in 2 months expects to leave this 8 mo[nth]s 600 slaves.

Potter's tender & Fairweather are mention'd before

[104] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Ludlam, Parry & Son, London, to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 December 1787, James Rogers Papers

Since we last did ourselves this honour our India sale is finish'd and romals which are a principal article in the African trade have gone much lower than at former sales and many other articles. We thought it proper to advise you of this as in making out your indent for the *Jupiter*s[688] cargoe you may find it most expedient to take India goods especially romals in preference to Manchester. At foot we annexe you the credit prices of these articles by which you will be able to form a judgment. Wanting the pleasure of your commands we are very sincerely.

Cotton romals	Bonny blues	13/6
	Superfine ditto	14/6
	Light hair	12/
	Light mixd	13/
	Ashantees	14/6
	Superfine	17/
Blue	[illegible]	3/
	Ditto check ditto	14/6
Best chelloes		26/
Ditto bejutapauts blue		24/ 18 yards
Ditto ditto	red	25/
Ditto neganepauts		28/
Do niccanas		18/
Bandanas	flowerd	30/
Ditto	choco	36/ @ 33/
India blue bafts		32/ @ 34/

Callicoes as before &c &c

686 The *Ellis*, John Ford master, Ellis and Robert Bent owners, left Liverpool on 19 Apr. 1786, embarked 360 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 330 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 24 June 1788. Voyage ID 81258 in www.slavevoyages.org.

687 The *Gascoyne*, Peter Comberbach master, John and James Gregson, James Aspinall, William Gregson, Sr and Jr, Edward Wilson, George Case, Andrew Black and William Begg owners, left Liverpool on 22 Feb. 1787, intended to purchase 600 slaves, embarked 547 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 501 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 24 Sept. 1788. Voyage ID 81560 in www.slavevoyages.org.

688 The *Jupiter*, Henry Laroche master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 16 May 1788, loaded 390 slaves at Old Calabar, sold 220/241 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 17 Oct. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 140; voyage ID 18021 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[105] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Capt. Richard Rogers, Old Callabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 29 December 1787, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity per ship *Tarleton* Captain Patrick Fairweather advising you of the following people's death vizt

William Legg joiner died 26th October 1787
William Evans boy 19th November 1787
Thomas James lad 26th do 1787
William Hopkins ½ seaman 5th December 1787
James Finelater carpenter 9th do 1787
Stephen Lewis 13th do 1787
William Edwards surgeon 19th do 1787
James Thomas boy 27th do 1787

Have at present one seaman & two lads unwell but hope they are on the recovery. The ship has been very sickly indeed as these are the smoaky months. Every ship on the river has buried a number of people. I have had two fevers. Obliged to keep my bed for 3 days each time but thank God am in perfect health at present. Am sorry to say have purchas'd but one slave these 10 days. Hope the *Juba* will soon arrive as there is such a great opposition in the river. The ships that have been a considerable time on the river going away every month will oblige me to raise my coppers & give good goods.

Have wrote in the former letters concerning your sending me out another vessel with some additional goods for *Pearl*. I seem to have a thought of keeping the *Juba* when arrived until can put 275 good slaves in her with what ivory, redwood & 20 puncheons palm oil if she can carry it & the remittance of her cargoe secure the voyage. If you have a great stock of beads 4 or 5 hundred beads of large barley corn of different colours (say) white, green, yellow & red will answer & go off very well.

The *Ellis* Captain Ford will be the next ship that will sail. Expects twill be in about 6 weeks. Shall send every particular by her.

P. S. Mr Herd the gunsmith used you very indifferent in changing the guns after pickd out by the mate & if he have sent the remainder of *Pearl*s cargo & *Juba*s with such kind of guns am very clear it will hurt the voyage considerably. The Liverpool men's guns cost but 9/ & 12 months credit & three hundred per cent in preference to mine. Should you think proper to drop a line to Captain Patrick Fairweather who has used this river 32 years he will answer any particular you would wish to learn on his arrival.

[106] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Bance Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 January 1788, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you that the *Lyon* will be off the coast all this month, with 110 or 120 slaves and myself will not be off this 3 months with about fifty slaves. The *Fly* has lost most of her people & the master very ill. Such times scarce was ever known on the coast scarceness of slaves & very sickly. There is 2 ships cut off in Gambia River & a schooner in Sherbro River, the crews all held.

[107] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Edward Walker, Banana Islands, to James Rogers, Bristol, 20 January 1788, James Rogers Papers

I am sorry to inform you of our not being sailed yet from the coast, however I am in hopes Mr Cleveland[689] will be able to complete the hole of our purchase in three weeks from this date. My brother intends sending off the *Trim* with about one hundred & twenty Slaves & keep the *Fly* himself. He have just now disposed of all his remains to Captain Bow at Sierra Lion at 170 bars per slave.

Times never was known to be so bad as it is at present for I find that Mr Cleveland & all the white traders have thayer hands full. Slaves is very scarce in this part of the coast. Here is six sail of vessels nough [i.e. now] waiting for slaves from Cleveland.

I have been very ill this three months past but are nough [i.e. now] getting better.

[108] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/10, Francis & Robert Smyth, Dominica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 26 January 1788, James Rogers Papers

From letters received from our Francis Smyth brother and partner by last mail induces us to avail ourselves of the first occasion to open a correspondence with you agreeable to the tenor of this letter to us. We are happy to have it in our power to inform you of the safe arrival of your ship the *Commerce* at this island some time past, and of Captain Blake's expectation of being able to leave this for Jamaica by the end of next week. From our Francis Smyth we learn that you and he has had some conversation relative your future business in this island or any part of the same which may suit both our ends. We beg leave to say that on consideration of your having no prior engagements with any person or house here, that we now take the liberty of making you a tender of our best services, but we must freely observe that in consequence of any prior engagement, even temporary, being in existence 'twixt you and any house or gentleman here, that we do think in that case ourselves premature and much to blame for the present application. As such permit us if we err to lay it to a wrong interpretation of your and Francis Smyth conversation on the business.

Our crops will be very soon in a forward state. Coffee is coming on slowly of which there is a very short crop, but at the enormous price of 24/ per cwt English weight. Cotton will soon be at market, at present no settled price. A few days past a house in this town bought about fifteen bales Demerary[690] at 335/ per cwt or £16 10s. This price we think too much for the late prices from your quarter. Sugar as yet not come to market in plenty the price asked from 38/ to 45/ per cwt.

Slaves from Bonny & New Callabar sells pretty well say from £60 to £62 currency per head payable 12 15 & 18 months but this season is full late enough for to make large averages as what is now sold cannot be paid for this season. The season for good slave sales is immediately after the hurricane months say from 1st October to the middle or end of December & those sold in that period is generally sold for bills at *shorter sights* but the mode we would recommend & would follow were we in the line & in *possession* or *direction* of two or three small vessels would be to have them to come in about the forementionʼd period at which time would immediately carry them into St Lucia in the ship they came in where there is only a duty of 9/ sterling

689 For John, James and William Cleveland, coastal traders at Sierra Leone, see document no. 92.
690 i.e. demerara sugar.

per head, & for those sold in Martinique a duty of 30/ sterling per head after which no risque whatever & immediately on having them put into order would open a sale to the planters and by supplying them with small parcels would procure great prices and receive about 2/3rds of the payment the beginning & during the ensuing crop in cotton, coffee, sugar & cocoa a part of which could be shipped you by way of Havre de Grace[691] without any risque, & the other part, or the *whole*, through this island. The remaining third would be received in the first of the crop following by which mode would be insuring the proprietor near 2/3rds of the nett sales in six to nine months at farthest, and at least an average from £38 to £40 sterling per head supposing the cargo to be healthy. Exclusive of the above advantage it would be the means of insuring such a brig as *your Minerva* near two freights annually from hence; supposing only a *part of* the sales comes this way. This is admitting there was about two or three small cargoes sold annually in those islands of 150 to 250 each, or thereabouts. As we are on the subject with your permission we must further observe the advantages arising from this mode of sales is arising to our never crediting a planter with *too* great a number whereas when the guarantees[692] &c are obliged to sell in this island they are obliged one & all to credit at times *one French house* with a cargo of 350 to 400 slaves, at other times 2 & one hundred slaves, by which means in case of accident to any of them the loss comes heavy, whereas by retailing in two's 4 6 10 or 15 on each lott to twenty or thirty planters, the chances in our idea are much in favour of the sales in small parcels as the sales made in this island is for the islands of Martinique Guadeloupe & St Lucia & sometimes to St Domingo and the Havana. Of course the sum *total* is trusted in the *end* on the honor of the Frenchmen. Were it *possible* for us to establish two or three small vessels in this trade [on] *our own* accounts the above is the mode we would pursue in *preference* to any other, as the sales of African ships in this island are only *idea[l]y* made here as it is the French planters and merchants from the adjacent islands are the purchasers. Of course those islands [damaged]. On consideration if you should think us trustworthy of confiding any part of your vessels to our address, in that line or any other, permit us to assure you of our utmost exertions for your interest or if you and our Francis Smyth can fall on any mutual plan in the African line we will not have the least objection to any engagements he may enter into on that head &c. The risque of bringing produce from St Lucia is by no means *great*, it's trifling but the surest & most we think to your advantage is to ship *a part* through Havre de Grace.

We expected your *Minerva* 'ere this. A vessel such as her, commanded by such a man as Captain Whelan might answer well & particularly so if the above business were established. We will be very happy to hear from you when conveniency suits.

Should you approve of a tryal of us in any sales of your African vessels in the above line we make you a tender of the business, supposing sold in the island on sales 2½ per cent and on remitting 2½ per cent; & supposing them sold in St Lucia or Martinique sales 2½ per cent & remittances 5 per cent. The trouble on sales and collecting the debt on St Lucia is much more considerable than would be here as if sold in this island it would be on the *established* custom by *quantity's* & if in the two former ones in *small* parcels

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691 Situated in Maryland at the head of the Chesapeake Bay.

692 i.e. merchants who guaranteed to sell slaves ahead of the sale.

[109] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 31 January 1788, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity per ship *Ellis* Captain Ford. The *Ellis* have sent away one tender with 350 slaves & been in the river 20 months. The *President* Captain Hughs sails in two weeks. The *London* Captain Tatum sails the beginning of March. After these ships are sail'd the *Iris* Captain Potter the *Gascoine* Captain Cumberbush & the *Pearl* will be all is left. Am in great hopes of not seeing many new arrivals & in the course of 4 months times will be much alter'd for the best.

I have purchasd but 60 slaves since arrived & trusted 100 slaves goods. [illegible] bought 5 of ivory 5 tons of redwood & 30 puncheons palm oil. Am in dayly expectations of the *Juba*. Am in hopes by the *Caiscoin* to give a more favourable account of your property in my charge. The *Caiscoin* sail in all April. Have had the misfortune to bury the following people since my arrival.

William Legg joiner dyed 26 October 1787
William Evans boy dyed 19 November 1787
Thomas James landsman dyed 26 November 1787
William Hopkins ½ seaman dyed 5 December 1787
James Finletter carpenter dyed 9 December 1787
Stephen Lewis ½ seaman dyed 13 December 1787
William Edwards surgeon dyed 19 December 1787
James Thomas sea boy dyed 27 December 1787
John McRee ½ seaman dyed 12 January 1788
Zariah Morgan seaman dyed 21 January 1788
Thomas Bottom landsman dyed 21 January 1788
John Heartrey landsman dyed 7 January 1788

In the above list James Finletter have 30s per month left in England & John McRee 10s per month. The river have been very sickly. I hope you will not be troubled concerning the surgeon. Believe we were deceived in him. Am apt to think he was not regular bred to the profession. Am in great hopes if can keep Mr Powell doctor's mate in health & the little knowledge I have myself should do very well. Have not had the misfortune to bury any more out of my small number but shall wright as particular as possible by Captain Cumberbush.

P.S. The *Neptune* is in Andoney River with 15 slaves [and] goods.

[110] British Library, Add MS 38,416, ff. 20v-21v, James Jones, Bristol, to Lord Hawkesbury,[693] London, 14 February 1788

I am fearful you will think it presuming in a person whose name may be scarcely recollected to address a letter to you, but some years since when my friend Mr Combe was living, I had the honor to receive a letter or two from your lordship respecting some information you wished for. Emboldened from that and from your lordship's abilities & power to serve the trade and commerce of this country I take the liberty of addressing this letter to you with a few remarks on the African slave trade, which

693 Charles Jenkinson, 1st Earl of Liverpool (1729-1808), known as Lord Hawkesbury between 1786 and 1796. He was the father of the prime minister Lord Liverpool. John Cannon, 'Jenkinson, Charles, first earl of Liverpool (1729-1808)' in Matthew and Harrison, eds., *ODNB*, vol. 29, pp. 973-6.

there appears a kind of frenzy in some to suppress from this kingdom, although till now it have ever been considered of very great consequence and have been carried on under the direction of government protected by forts, garrisons &c. I cannot doubt but your lordship has a knowledge of the extent of this trade & whether it would be good policy to take any steps to abolish it to enable you to judge of its importance to every branch of manufactures of this kingdom that would be affected by it. I enclose the particular cost & charge of repairing & fitting out a ship of 250 tons for Bonny in April last and the cost of every part of the cargo. The returns made to this nation for Negroes amount annually to upwards of one million eight hundred thousand pounds. I compute that full two thirds of the negroes purchased by the British go to the French Spanish & Dutch settlements[694] & I do not know of any trade whereby so large a proportion of the British manufactures could be got rid of and employ so many ships but by this medium. From the best judgement I can form there is no probability of the trade to Africa being extended beyond what it now is in any other articles (the chief of which is ivory in which the Dutch must always have the advantage) which employs from 20 to 30 vessells chiefly small from 40 to 90 tons except about five large ships for wood the value of their cargoes from £500 to £2,000. These voyages are very tedious from 12 to 16 months on the coast which is very destructive to the health of the seamen much more so than a Negroe voyage, which is from 2 to 6 months in general.

I will not presume to say what the effect or the consequences of the defalcation of this trade would have in this kingdom, or in the West Indies, particularly where there are large tracts of land to cultivate, but I think any attempt to abolish it would be a very dangerous experiment.

If any information which this conveys should be pleasing to your lordship, it will give me pleasure.

[111] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, Francis & Robert Smyth, Dominica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 22 February 1788, James Rogers Papers

We had the pleasure last under date 26th ultimo, since when we have had many arrivals here from the coast, say Old & New Callibar & Bonny. Those from the former part of the coast does not answer so well, as those from New Calabar & Bonny. There has been averages here of the former from £28 to £30 sterling, & for the latter's from 60 to £62 10/ currency per head. The slaves now selling and what will be sold for some months is at long credits. The best season for the coast of New Callibar & Bonny is to leave England in May & June so as to have the vessels placed that they will arrive in those Islands about 1st to 10th October & from thence to January or even middle of this month & by thus falling in this manner the credits are not so long & the price for sales much the best. There is now one ship a coming. Is supposed to be the *Golden Age* of Liverpool[695] with about 600 slaves from Old Calabar. Should there be that quantity on board, we will then have not less than 1180 Slaves for sale here in three

694 It is impossible to verify this claim, which may be an exaggeration. The Dutch had settlements at Berbice, Demerara and Surinam on the 'wild coast' of the northern shores of South America.

695 The *Golden Age*, William Jackson master, Thomas Hinde sr, Thomas Hinde jr, William Jackson owners, left Liverpool on 13 July 1787, embarked 624 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 583 imputed slaves at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 21 May 1788. Voyage ID 81608 in www.slavevoyages.org

or four days & not less sold since our last than 600 – all of which are sold in large lotts to the French planters & merchants. What the latter sales may be here cannot at present determine.

Sugar 38/ - 45/ per cwt
Cotton 275/ - 285 per cwt
Coffee 23/ per lb
Cocoa 12/-13/ ditto & ditto

[112] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Bananas Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 26 February 1788, James Rogers Papers

I am sorry to Inform you of the long detention we have had on the coast. Times never was equal to this present period. Slaves at 180 barrs and exceedingly scarce. The *Lyon* is now ready provision'd, and everything ready for sea. We only wait for a few slaves to send her off wich I do expect daily and she will positively sail with 110 slaves in the space of ten days time, and all in perfect health. I shall order my brother to call at Barbadoes whilst he sends his boat on shore to see if there is any letters, but if upon contrary to your last orders she is to go to Tortola but I am fearful of that market as I am inform'd it's a bad place to sell a cargo of Negroes. The times being so bad if a cargo do not average £40 there can not be at present any money got. I shall advise him to proceed to Montego Bay if they cannot assure him of an average of £36 sterling but shall leave him to act according to the letter that he receives when he gets to Tortola. I have chiefly agreed with James Cleveland Esquire for the *Lyon* to return here with a cargo of goods for 110 slaves and then to go to the West Indies with a few slaves & bring in a cargo of rum. By the time he returns he will have all the cargo ready, which I think she will be very well employed and much to the advantage of the concern. I expect to be off in six weeks after the *Lyon* with about 40 Negroes or more. There will be several debts left behind that cannot be got on this voyage.

[113] The National Archives, Kew, BT 6/7, Bristol: A List of the Vessels belonging to this port employed in the African Slave Trade, March 1788

Ships' names	Masters' names	Purser's names	Where bound	Tons	Slaves
Royal Charlotte[696]		James Jones	Bonny	237	450
	Thomas Phillips	ditto	New Callabar	174	400
Alfred[697]	Edward Robe	ditto	Bonny	199	400

696 The *Royal Charlotte*, Joseph Jackson master, James Jones, Thomas Deane, Richard Stratton and Thomas Rigge owners, left Bristol on 5 May 1787, embarked 455 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 417 slaves in Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 14 Feb. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 132; voyage ID 18005 in www.slavevoyages.org.

697 The *Alfred*, Edward Robe and John Trousdale masters, left Bristol on 21 Dec. 1787, embarked 359 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 328 imputed slaves at St. Vincent, and returned to Bristol on 19 Aug. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 119; voyage ID 17984 in www.slavevoyages.org.

King George[698]	Alexander Robe	ditto	ditto	278	450
	Jeffrey Howlett	ditto	Gold Coast	194	400
William (tender[699] to the *Brothers*)[700]	Andrew Haynes	ditto	ditto	27	
James[701]	Matthew Morley	ditto	Windward Coast	101	250
Lovely Lass[702]		ditto	Gold Coast	268	500
Hester[703]	William Jenkins	ditto	ditto	191	400
Prince[704]	James Clarg	ditto	Bonny	273	450
Africa[705]	Mungo Wright	James McTaggart	Gold Coast	210	350
Pilgrim[706]	Charles Sloper	ditto	Bonny	259	400
(tender to the *Africa*)	John Alexander	ditto	Gold Coast	18	
Fly	Edward Walker	James Rogers	Cape Mount	27	50

698 The *King George*, Alexander Robe master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 31 May 1787, embarked 453 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 415 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 12 Apr. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 127; voyage ID 17998 in www.slavevoyages.org.

699 Tenders were smaller vessels used alongside slaving vessels on the West African coast. They were often used to supply produce from rivers to the main vessels. B. K. Drake, 'The Liverpool-African Voyage, c. 1790-1807: commercial problems' in Anstey and Hair, eds., *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition*, pp. 138-9.

700 The *Brothers*, Jeffrey Howlett master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 6 July 1787, embarked 450 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 412 imputed slaves in Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 12 Feb. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 119; voyage ID 17985 in www.slavevoyages.org.

701 The *James* left Bristol on 3 Sept. 1787, embarked 169 imputed slaves on the Windward Coast, disembarked 154 slaves at Black River, Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 May 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 125; voyage ID 17996 in www.slavevoyages.org.

702 The *Lovely Lass*, John Kennedy and William Jenkins masters, left Bristol on 27 May 1788, embarked 408 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 398 slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 25 Aug. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 142; voyage ID 18025 in www.slavevoyages.org.

703 The *Hester*, William Jenkins and John Langley masters, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 29 Feb. 1788, embarked 320/400 slaves at Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 299 slaves in Jamaica, and ended its voyage in Boston on 24 Mar. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 139; voyage ID 18018 in www.slavevoyages.org.

704 The *Prince*, James Clurg and W. Engledue masters, James McTaggart owner, left Bristol on 28 July 1787, embarked 427 slaves at Bonny, disembarked 355 slaves at Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and returned to Bristol on 25 Oct. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 131; voyage ID 18008 in www.slavevoyages.org.

705 The *Africa*, Mungo Wright master, James McTaggart owner, left Bristol on 10 Aug. 1787, embarked 354 slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 324 imputed slaves in Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 15 June 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 118; voyage ID 17982 in www.slavevoyages.org.

706 The *Pilgrim*, Charles Sloper master, James McTaggart owner, left Bristol on 28 July 1787, embarked 421 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 350 slaves at Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and returned to Bristol on 4 Jan. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 131; voyage ID 18275 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Lion	Thomas Walker	ditto	ditto	56	100
Pearl	Richard Rogers	ditto	Old Calabar	370	550
Neptune (tender to the *Pearl*)	James McLean	ditto	ditto	11	
Jupiter		ditto		284	
Juba	John Kennedy	ditto	Old Calabar	180	250
Alert[707]	John Smith	John Anderson	Gold Coast	162	350
Active[708]	Charles Thompson	ditto	ditto	159	350
Friendship (tender to the *Active*)	George Bush	ditto	ditto	30	
Emilia[709]	James Frazer	Evan Baillie	Bonny	278	450
Daniel (tender to the *Emilia*)	Kennedy	ditto	ditto	97	150
Wasp[710]	Richard Bowen	Thomas Jones	New Callabar	130	250
Eliza[711]		ditto	ditto	160	
Friends[712] (in the French	John C. Lewis	John Powell	Gold Coast	142	300
Ruby[713]	Joseph Williams	William Tapscott	Bembia	101	250

707 The *Alert*, John Smith master, John Anderson owner, left Bristol on 13 Nov. 1787, embarked 260/276 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 262/265 slaves at Port Royal, and returned to Bristol on 23 May 1789.Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 118; voyage ID 17983 in www.slavevoyages.org.

708 The *Active*, Charles Thomson master, John Anderson owner, left Bristol on 8 Aug. 1787, embarked 284 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 260 slaves at Montago Bay, and returned to Bristol on 22 Apr. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 117; voyage ID 17981 in www.slavevoyages.org.

709 The *Emilia*, James Fraser master, Evan Baillie owner, left Bristol on 11 June 1787, embarked 359 imputed slaves at Bonny, delivered 328 imputed slaves at St. Thomas and St. Kitts, and returned to Bristol on 20 Mar. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 122; voyage ID 1790 in www.slavevoyages.org.

710 The *Wasp*, Richard Bowen master, Thomas Jones owner, left Bristol on 13 Nov. 1787, embarked 248 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 230 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 7 Sept. 1788. Richardson ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 135; voyage ID 18012 in www.slavevoyages.org.

711 The *Eliza*, Richard Bowen and Edward Bullock masters, Thomas Jones, Charles Harford and Thomas Rigge owners, left Bristol on 4 March 1789, embarked 283 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 210 slaves at St. Vincent and Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 Nov. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 151; voyage ID 18041 in www.slavevoyages.org.

712 The *Friends*, John Lewis – Sherry owners, left Bristol on 12 May 1787, embarked 240 slaves at Anomabu and the Gold Coast, sold them at Port-au-Prince, and returned to Bristol on 6 June 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 124; voyage ID 17994 in www.slavevoyages.org.

713 The *Ruby*, Joseph Williams master, William Tapscott and James Rogers owners, left Bristol on 10 Aug. 1787, embarked 105 slaves at Bimbia and the Cameroons, disembarked 97 slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1788. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 132; voyage ID 18006 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Saucy Jack (tender to a vessel)	John Fitzhenry	Patrick Fitzhenry	Gold Coast	25	
	Vaughan	Vaughan	Gambia	30	

[114] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Bananas Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 1 March 1788, James Rogers Papers

I have to Inform you, provided it should meet your approbation of making an agreement with James Cleveland Esquire for the *Lyon* to return immediately from Bristol to him with a cargo for one hundred and twenty slaves at seventeen pounds sterling as per his own Invoice wich is inclos'd, and when she has delivered her outer bound cargo, he is to put forty slaves on board of her, immediately, and she is to go to the Windward Islands and dispose of the said Negroes, and take in a cargo of rum for this place wich I think will undoubtedly turn in to the concern from sixteen hundred to two thousand pounds clear money. When she returns with the rum, he will give her the amount of her cargoes, and send her off directly.

The *Lyon* will sail in the space of four or five days with about 110 Negroes and a little ivory.

I shall be off myself in six or seven weeks. You will please to let Mr Cleveland know by the way of Liverpool or the first conveyance if this vessel is employ'd. We shall want another in the amount of 1 to 150 slaves, but that will be time anuf at my return.

The *Lyon* on this voyage will not want so many officers nor men, as by going to the West Indies she will save their healths and it will be quite unnecessary to give any priviledges to mates, only wages at £4 per month as they will be no time on the coast & their cargo already purchased for them.

Provided my brother should not come I think the next master has no business with the commissions, only an advance of £6 payment wages as I must be in the country myself, put them all away, and settel everything.

[115] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, April 1788, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity per ship *Gascoigne* Captain Cumberbatch who leaves this with 540 slaves & pawns which he is obliged to carry off. I believe his debts which is left behind 100 more by that means obliged him to carry off 120 pledges. When I left England the amount of his cargo was £7,500 fourteen hundred India romals for one article. His tender's cargo amounted to £4,200 and carried off 269 slaves. My opinion is if he meets with much mortality must [be] a losing voyage.

We have at present but the *Iris* Captain Porter & the *Pearl* left but daily expect new arrivals, which will be little hurt to me at present. I have now 50 slaves & 60 pawns on board on ship most of the pawns redeemed from other ships & 150 slaves trusted but shall be very easy as to that. I shall take particular method to secure myself with good pawns.

I expect to dispatch Captain Kennedy in July with 260 prime slaves & 1½ tons ivory 28 puncheons palm oil & 5 or 6 tons redwood. Hope to leave this if no vessel comes out to me in October after purchasing 500 slaves for ship besides tender. Should

a vessel come hope to sail in November with near 600 slaves but shall dispatch the small vessel in a few days. As to mortality if continue as at present shall be very fortunate. Mentioned in my last of losing Mr Frost which I assure you I miss him very much. The better of him is not left in any of his inferior officers.

Captain Kennedy arrived the 2nd ultimo after a passage of 10 weeks. Have discharged & dispatch'd her off Andoney River with 50 slaves [and] goods. Have been very unfortunate in my people. Buried John Teague seaman a few days back which makes 17. Am certain shall be very weakly mann'd going off.

I conclude with my humble respects to Mr Fydell[714] & Sir James [Laroche] wishing your happy family may enjoy a perfect state of health.

P.S. am sorry to add in all the month of February did not purchase one slave.

[116] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Edward Walker, Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 15 April 1788, James Rogers Papers

With pleasure I advise you of my arrival here having a passage of thirty one days with one hundred and eight slaves all well, but am sorry to say we have lost two slaves belongin to the *Fly*. My brother have ordered me to touch here in case you shou'd have dropped further orders for us.

[117] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Bance Island, to James Rogers, 4 May 1788, James Rogers Papers

I have to infrm you that I do this day sail from Bance Island for the Bannanas where I hope my stay will not amount only two, five or six days when I shall proceed to Barbados, seeing if there is any further orders for me. If not, I shall proceed to Tortola and deliver the cargo to your last orders. The *Lyon* sailed the fifteenth of March with one hundred and nine negroes and about seven hundredweight of ivory. The *Fly*'s cargo will amount to about forty negroes and a great many debts out that is impossible to recover this voyage. Times never were worse than they are at present. Slaves are so scarce that the factories are drove to every extremity to pay their debts. It is reported that Captain Rogers of the Brig *Peel* is drowned but I hope not.

[118] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, at sea, to James Rogers, Bristol, 31 May 1788, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you of my being on my passage for Barbados & St Thomas's with 35 Negroes on board all in perfect health. Six are paid for by J. Cleveland and the total debts left on the coast. amounts to twenty two slaves. The *Lyon* sailed the 16 March with 109 Slaves all in good health. If you please to give my love to Mrs Walker & family & I hope to be with you in the latter end of July.

[119] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 10 June 1788, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you of my arivel at Barbados, with thirty five slaves all in perfect

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714 Richard Fydell, a business partner of James Rogers.

health. I ordered my brother to call at this place, and to wait on the house of Messrs Lythcott & Daniel where I am sorry to inform you of her not being arrived here which makes me fearful of her being lost. Therefore I must leave it to you to act in regard of the insurance what you think best for the concern. I do go immediately for Tortola.

[120] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 17 June 1788, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity per *Iris*, the only Liverpool ship in the river. We have a new arrival. It is a Frenchman which arriv'd the 2nd instant but will be neither service nor hurt to me. I have at present on board 200 slaves & 70 pawns. Was they all in health & in good order would dispatch the *Juba* but am sorry to say it oblig'd to keep her sometime longer. However at all events she shall sail this day month if not before I hope with 220 slaves. Should I be lucky in my purchase will fulfil your desire say 250 slaves 1½ tons ivory 20 puncheons of palm oil & 7 tons redwood. Shall send you every particular per *Juba*.

[121] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Samuel Richards, Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 21 June 1788, James Rogers Papers

Having received a letter from my brother requesting any information relative to the Leeward market for slaves, I wrote him fully on that subject, but he has since mentioned that it would [have] been satisfactory to you to know what remittances are made from this island for such sales. The average for two years past for small cargoes say from 150 to any less quantity of young slaves, say men boys & women girls have been here the best in all the islands & two cargoes one 160 slaves the other 60 slaves from the Windward best which arrived last week & sold here will average full thirty eight pounds sterling. These cargoes have been consigned to a house here who remits either in bills or produce as the slaves are sold for. This island will be well worth your attention for such cargoes as your remittances will be made much sooner than the mode of bills at such a long date from the other islands, but it will be necessary for such cargoes to arrive before the 1st of June as the crops are far advanced by that time & a credit till the next crop would be expected was they to arrive after that time. Your sloop *Fly* Captain Walker passed on for Tortola the 11th instant with 35 slaves. I shall be very happy to render you any service in my power & should you be disposed to place a small cargo in my hands, you may be assured of my best endeavours for your interest. I shall be happy to be favoured with a line from you.

[122] The British Library, Add MS 38,416, ff. 130r-131r, James Jones, Bristol, to Lord Hawkesbury, London, 27 June 1788

I have considered the answer I gave your Lordship yesterday that ships of 200 tons taking 5 slaves to 3 tons would not in general pay.[715] Some would probably get a little money, others not and some would lose money. It certainly would check the ardour of the trade and a great number of the ships would be laid up instead of being fitted out again immediately as usual. The smallest interruption (although it is said the bill is

715 A reference to the conditions laid down under Dolben's Act (1788).

but for one year) would turn the traders into the hands of our rivals not to be regained again. Nothing but the spirit of the English now holds them, as the French from the encouragement they have can afford to pay more on the coast for slaves than they net us in the West Indies.

Ships to the Gold Coast under the above restriction may make it do. But to the Windward Coast, Bonny & New Calabar from whence fully ¾ of the slaves come, full 1/3 of which are boys & girls, the prospect of profit would be so inadequate as not to encourage the persons now in the trade whose knowledge of it had been matured by long experience to push it. Other adventures that know nothing of it might perhaps start up, and not go to the expense of fitting ships as they now are. Thus would the operation of the bill defeat its intention. The spirit that have lately prevailed in improving ships to carry slaves commodiously and at a very great expense would be destroyed.

That ships from 170 to 250 tons are best adapted to the trade, there is not the smallest doubt both as to accommodation of slaves and seamen. If some encouragement was given to induce bringing a greater proportion of females & boys & girls by allowing 3 of this description to be equal to 2 full grown persons it would assist the trade under the above restrictions but few women are to be had on the Gold Coast and those never approved in the West Indies being old Eboe. Women from Bonny & New Calabar are very fine and may be had.[716]

The assertion that the Portuguese are limited one slave to one ton is not founded. The fact is notoriously otherwise. They are under no restriction and their ships are wretchedly equipped for slaves the worst that go. The French are under no restrictions and the tonnage much under ours. I am in the possession of the knowledge that a British ship from this port of 295 tons was sent to France and from thence fitted to Africa, and her tonnage was then made 561 tons on which she received a bounty of 40 livres per ton. I had three letters from France yesterday offering the greatest encouragement to send my ships from thence.

This bill under the humane pretence of remedying some evils will certainly do a great deal of mischief but to what extent experience only can decide. If the clause of 5 slaves to 3 tons to ships of 200 tons should be carried it would help the trade if 3 slaves was allowed to 2 tons above the 200 tons to ships of 250 tons burthen.[717] I hope I shall have your lordship forgiveness for troubling you with this.

[123] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Samuel Chollet & Co., Dominica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 12 July 1788

In answer to the favour of your letter of 26th May informing us of your having ordered Captain Kennedy of your ship *Juba* to call upon us, we beg to inform you that we shall be happy in rendering you agreeable accounts of sale of his cargo, for which purpose every exertion on our part shall be used. Our averages here have lately been high, particularly for Windward Coast slaves, and we have no doubt that if the *Juba*'s

716 By the late 1780s, women formed a substantial part of slave cargoes from the Bight of Biafra: see evidence provided by the Bristol merchant James Jones, 16 June 1788, in Lambert, ed., *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, vol. 68, p. 43. For the purchase of female slaves at the Bight of Biafra, see also G. Ugo Nwokeji, *The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 151, and Radburn, *Traders in Men*, p. 108.

717 Another reference to Dolben's Act (1788).

cargo should prove healthy we shall effect as good a sale of it as can be done with the Old Calabar nation. A ship we have just sold from that part of the coast gives intelligence of the *Pearl* and the *Juba*, and that the latter ship may be expected round in the course of three or four months.

We observe the privileges you allow your captain and officers, and shall follow your orders in that and every other respect.

[124] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 20 July 1788, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this per *Juba* which I dispatch with the cargo as is mentioned in the bills of ladan. I have 72 slaves left on board & 90 pawns & at all events will sail in October for whom I get debts in such a situation as 2 pawns for 3 slaves will give them but 2 days. Should they not pay in that time will borrow their persons to sell in the West Indies for there is some fine fellows on board the *Pearl* & pawns will live when slaves is apt to dye. My mortality is very reasonable as yet. I have had a great many very dangerous ill but have loss only 18. I hope to sail with near 500 slaves & can venture to say have put as good a cargo on board the *Juba* as ever went over Old Calabar spit hoping he will make a good average as the slaves have all had the ships sickness. Have been ready for the *Juba* since the 1st instant but keep her for the yams to be wholesome & strong. Have furnished the *Juba* with 1 gang cask brandy, palm oil, pepper, lime juice, goats, dryed fish &c for his slaves & in fact everything that is necessary at the same time advising him to stop a few slaves at Annabona which place he will get plenty of stock. I have lett Captain Kennedy have several articles for to furnish himself with stock for his slaves &c.

Sir, should you think of loading any vessel large or small slaving before my arrival in England would advise you by all means to put kiln dryed flour on board for her slaves desiring the captain to have [illegible] made & well boiled with the slabber sauce[718] as is customary with yams plantain's &c I dare say they will meet with easy mortality. I am sorry to say my flour is all expended only 4 butts to keep that for Middle Passage.

The *Pearl* when arrived will want a great outfit am afraid. I heard Captain Kennedy mention the *Jupiter* was new copper'd[719] & refitted & if you intend her for either Bonny or New Calabar would advise not to land her in the times as other vessels goes for. Some I have layn in this river known Bonny & New Calabar to be without one ship for 3 months. The best times to leave England for that place is November then the river will be very thin of vessels been the smokey months. I have a very good abstract for New Calabar which I shall deliver to you. Should you not have a captain for the *Jupiter* hopes you will let her lye till my arrival not as I want her only for particular reasons as I will inform you. By the return of *Juba*'s cargo &

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718 A sauce added to food composed of palm oil mixed with flour, water and pepper. Christopher Fyfe, ed., *Anna Maria Falconbridge, Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone 1791-1792-1793 with Alexander Falconbridge, An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa* (Liverpool, 2000), p. 208.

719 Refers to the copper sheathing of ocean-going vessels as a protection against infestation by teredo worms, usually found in Caribbean waters, that could destroy wooden hulls. The practice was first developed in the Royal Navy in the 1770s, whence it spread to merchant vessels. Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, pp. 132-3.

the slaves I mentioned as shall bring off in *Pearl* hopes I shall sink no money for I have & shall strive every nerve for the interest of the voyage.

Mr Rogers I hope you & the other good gentlemen will not reflect on me for not puitting more slaves on board the *Juba* but my reason for it is that the *Juba* will be crowded a deal with 250 & will not have room for yams & on the contrary the *Pearl* will have enough room for 500 & keep the ship healthy. I again considering my stay will not be after the other vessel so the small remittance of a few slaves can make no great object. The lott of ivory I think is excellent. At all events should put the slaves mentioned 250 but you desiing me to act with your property as I would with my own which I have done & beg a thousand pardons if done it again.

[125] The British Library, Add MS 38,416, ff. 154r-155v, James Jones, Bristol, to Lord Hawkesbury, 26 July 1788

I received the letter your Lordship honoured me with of the 16th instant. When the bill had nearly gone through the committee by the Lords, I perceived by the amendments that it was determined that it must pass,[720] notwithstanding some Lords who honoured me with their opinion intimated it would be rejected on the report. I therefore thought that not only would it answer no good purpose, but that it would be better for me to return here than to attempt any further opposition to it. The bountys will certainly have a good effect but cannot operate so as to prevent the mischiefs the restrictions will have on the trade. The operation of the act will be partial on different parts of the coast. On the Windward Coast it will take off about a fifth of the number usually taken from thence. The vessels to this part are small, from 100 to 200 tons,[721] and notwithstanding they are a long while (four to nine months) making their purchases yet they are in general healthy. The people there are hardy, their country high and healthy and their food (rice and millett) also contributes to it. The trade to this part is advantageous to the manufactories of this kingdom.

At Bonny and New Callabar it will take off a quarter and a fifth. The trade there will suffer more than at any other part, the dutys paid there being very high much more than at any other part of the coast and on every ship alike without distinction as to size.[722] The chief of the ships to these parts are from 200 to 250 tons except those that have contracts.[723] They are all larger. Purchases are made much quicker there than at any other place. The natives there are not so hardy the country being low and swampy. Their food vegetables, principally yams, and a little fish which makes some of them weakly, and more liable to disorders, under which their constitutions will not bear them up: but by degrees, as they are used to a different and more nutritious food they get hardy and when purchased young make very usefull servants. More females are had there and better than in any other part of the coast: they are in general

720 A reference to Dolben's bill (1788), regulating slave shipping.

721 The mean tonnage of a sample of 613 British slaving vessels trading with that region between 1701 and 1810 was 151 tons. www.slavevoyages.org.

722 For taxes on slave ships at Old Calabar, see Christopher Fyfe, ed., *Anna Maria Falconbridge, Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone 1791-1792-1793 with Alexander Falconbridge, An Account of the Slave trade on the Coast of Africa* (Liverpool, 2000), p. 206.

723 The mean tonnage of a sample of 2,127 British slaving vessels trading with the Bight of Biafra between 1701 and 1810 was 222 tons. www.slavevoyages.org.

small, more than one third females and a great many boys and girls. I consider the trade there most advantageous to this country both as to our manufacturies and the number had from thence. Ships of about 200 tons accommodated rather more than two slaves to a ton very well and without counting them, and from experience I have found the trade carried on from this rule as successful as any; and to restrict them under that number, ships nine times in ten would not get money. The more expense of transporting them in ships of this burden and with that number is as near nine pounds each as can be.

I confine myself to the expenses of outfit and weare and tare of the ship only, insurance thereon, the captain's commissions, officer priviledges and wages to the crew, dutys and presents paid for the ship to the king &c. These expenses cannot be reduced, although the number of slaves are lessened nearly one quarter. Therefore on a ship of 200 tons, the loss by the restriction must be about £900, and the merchant's expected profit, considering he is on an average two years out of his money, should not estimated at less than six pounds for each, which is about £600 more; thus do these restrictions make a difference of about £1,400 or £1,500 on vessels of this description, a difference too great I fear not to ruin the trade, and I really do not think the negroes will be more healthy or that there will be less mortality in proportion to the number. It is a very uncertain and precarious trade, and if there is not a probable prospect of considerable profit no man of property who hath any knowledge of it would embark or continue in it.

I think it unnecessary to say much of the trade to the Gold Coast as the number purchased there to go to the Brittish islands are not great in proportion to the other parts. The restrictions will affect it rather less than on the Windward Coast, but will be the cause of fewer of those slaves going to our islands than ever. They are a hardy, robust people, not often sickly although they are from 6 to 10 month slaving. As to Old Callabar and the Camaroons, I have always declined sending to those two rivers, as they are sickly and the slaves inferior to any other, very weakly and liable to great mortality.

I agree with your lordship that regulations may be made without materially affecting the interest of the merchants and that they might be necessary to counteract the popular clamour; yet I do not think so formidably of this clamour as some do, seeing that in general it is raised by a particular description of persons, which was clearly the case here, and a very inconsiderable number, and which I understand to be the case at other places, and some of the Quakers;[724] but the latter meddle little in it, and if with the former it proceeded from motives of humanity it would be commendable, but it appears to me that this is not the case.

The regulations should be as near to the practice and usage of the trade as possible, particularly as it was drooping from the powerful competition of our rivals, who were incouraged by bountys from their government, equal to the expenses of transporting the slaves; and those incouragements were tempting to the merchants of this kingdom to embark their capitals out of it, with those rivals, and thereby discovering to them our manner of conducting the trade (which is much superior to theirs) and the best marts for carrying it on. It was not 'till within these few years the French had any footing at Bonny

724 The Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, was at the forefront of anti-slave trade activity in late eighteenth-century Britain.

and New Callabar,[725] and was occasioned from these temptations. The bill pass'd it's true has continuance only one year, but considering the period it takes date from, it has effect on two years, as there are particular seasons in which to do well near two thirds of the ships should be fitted out. It is so unfavourable that it has already determined some men of property to retire from it; and it appears to me that many others who have been longer in it will do the same. I am of opinion but few ships will be sent whilst this act is in force, unless administration should grant some relief in the restrictions.

Connections are formed and forming in France, and other measures taking that will prove very injurious to the trade of this country, and particularly to any ships that may be intended to supply our islands. The retrospective clause extending this bill to attach on ships on the coast makes a very unfavourable impression on everyone, and almost all are fearfull of continuing the trade, not knowing what may follow; it is consider'd so unprecedented a circumstance. Notwithstanding compensation is intended, I fear very fatal consequences may be occasioned by the clause which did not occur to me till lately these ships were fitted out at a great expence had regular assorted cargoes all of them large quantities of gunpowder; many from 200 to 300 barrels each; and very large quantities of British spirits and rum; many of them will be obligd to bring back a fifth & quarter of their cargoes and of course a great deal of powder; the rooms made for that article are always sealed and well secured to prevent accidents; and these rooms when the purchase is completed are always used for stowing the slaves dry provisions, there being no other part in the ship proper for that purpose, and to which the books, and other persons, must have constant access with light. An accident by a spark of fire when there are a number of slaves on board may happen; the spirits must be kept in the hold where the water is stowed, and of course open to the crew; the danger from thence is very alarming.

The cotton and linen cloth from the nature of their packages must unavoidably be rotten, from the heat and steam of the hold when the slaves are on board; as it must be stowed on the top of the water casks. This must be the case with all the other goods so that the loss from damage on all that is returned must be much greater than was at first imagined. In justice therefore to the merchant all the goods the ships are obligd to bring home should be sold for the account of the government and he should be paid for the number of slaves those goods would have purchased, at the average price the cargo sells for in the West Indies, after making the proper allowance for expected mortality; indeed I do not think it would be fit or prudent to risque it another voyage on any terms. This trade is certainly of great value in itself (and it is evident our rivals think so by the encouragement they give it) as well as of the utmost importance to another branch of our great commerce.

By the inclosd list of ships surveyd by Captain Parry at Liverpool and my own that are sailed and on the coast the difference the restrictions make will appear, and from your Lordships knowledge of commerce you will judge whether the trade can be continued under the act with prospect of advantage.

Ships surveyed at Liverpool by Captain Parry

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725 Between 1776 and 1800 French ships embarked 5,788 imputed slaves at the Bight of Biafra, whereas between 1726 and 1750 and 1751 and 1775 the equivalent totals were 2,456 and 2,400. But the Bight of Biafra before 1800 was never a major embarkation region for French slaving vessels. www.slavevoyages.org; David Geggus, 'The French Slave Trade: An Overview,' *WMQ*, 58, no. 1 (2001), p. 135.

Names	Register tonnage	What part of the coast	Number of slaves usually sent for	To take under this act	Difference
Brooks[726]	297	Gold Coast	609	431	178
Budd	97	Windward Coast	200	161	39
Golden Age[727]	377	Bonny	624	511	113
Betty[728]	260	Whydah	450	394	56
Kitty[729]	137	Ditto	282	229	53
Venus[730]	146	New Callabar	300	146	154
Brothers[731]	325	Bonny	650	459	191
Rose[732]	147	Windward Coast	340	147	193
Jane[733]	242	Bonny	528	376	152
	202		3,983	2,854	1,129

Ships belonging to James Jones & Co of Bristol now on the coast & at sea

726 The *Brooks/Brookes*, Thomas Molyneux master, Clement Noble, Thomas Molyneaux, Thomas Staniforth, Francis Ingram, Joseph Brooks jr, James Carruthers, William Denison, John Sargent, Christopher Chambers, Robert Rolleston, owners, left Liverpool on 17 Oct. 1786, embarked 609 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 590 imputed at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 8 Feb. 1788. Voyage ID 80666 in www.slavevoyages.org

727 The *Golden Age*, William Jackson master, Thomas Hinde Sr, Thomas Hinde Jr, William Jackson owners, left Liverpool on 13 July 1787, embarked 624 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 583 imputed slaves at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 21 May 1788. Voyage ID 81608 in www.slavevoyages.org

728 The *Betty*, Gerard Backhouse master, John Copland owner, left Liverpool on 4 Aug. 186, embarked 450 slaves at Whydah, disembarked 445 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 23 Mar. 1788. Voyage ID 80553 in www.slavevoyages.org

729 The *Kitty*, Joseph Mann master, John Copland owner, left Liverpool on 5 Dec. 1785, embarked 282 imputed slaves in the Bight of Benin, disembarked 264 imputed slaves at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 7 Mar. 1787. Voyage ID 82182 in www.slavevoyages.org

730 The *Venus*, Richard Hodgson master, Clayton Tarleton, John Tarleton, Thomas Tarleton, Daniel Backhouse owners, left Liverpool on 9 June 1787, embarked 300 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 287 at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 23 March 1788. Voyage ID 83940 in www.slavevoyages.org

731 The *Brothers*, Ralph Abram master, Peter Baker, John Dawson owners, left Liverpool on 10 July 1787, embarked 650 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 610 imputed slaves at Havana, and returned to Liverpool on 28 May 1788. Voyage ID 80685 in www.slavevoyages.org

732 The *Rose*, Diederick Wise master, Joseph Ward, Ralph Fisher, Plato Denny, John Perkins, Joseph Caton, Robert Ward, Thomas Rigmaiden owners, left Liverpool on 19 Mar. 1787, embarked 340 imputed slaves at Bassa, disembarked 315 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 22 Apr. 1788. Voyage ID 83400 in www.slavevoyages.org

733 The *Jane*, Thomas Walker master, Thomas Seaman, James Percival, William Boats owners, left Liverpool on 4 June 1787, embarked 528 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 487 imputed slaves at St Vincent, and returned to Liverpool on 24 Mar. 1788. Voyage ID 81991 in www.slavevoyages.org

Names	Register tonnage	What part of the coast	Number of slaves usually sent for	To take under this act	Difference
Alfred[734]	199	Bonny	430	331	95
Brothers[735]	190	Gold Coast	400	316	84
Royal Charlotte[736]	237	Bonny	480	371	109
Hester	191	Gold Coast	360	319	41
Lovely Lass	282	Ditto	550	416	134
King George	278	Bonny	550	412	138
James[737]	101	Windward Coast	230	169	61
Bonny Lass	45	Gold Coast	100	75	25
Thomas[738]	274	New Callabar	420	290	130
By carpenters measure is 200 tons	1697		352	269	817

[126] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, George Baillie & Co.,[739] St Vincent, to James Rogers, Bristol, 6 November 1788, James Rogers Papers

For want of an opportunity to Europe we cou'd not sooner advise you of the arrival of your ship *Juba*, Captain Kennedy from Old Calabar, after a passage of thirteen weeks & being very short of provisions. Considering those circumstances, and the country of

734 The *Alfred*, Benjamin Howard master, James Jones & Co. owners, entered out from Bristol for Africa, acquired slaves at Bonny and sold 140 of them at Grenada. The vessel returned to Bristol on 12 Dec. 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 147. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18034 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 5 Mar. 1789 and embarked 151 imputed slaves at Bonny.

735 The *Brothers*, David Williams master, James Jones & Co. owners, entered out for Africa from Bristol, intended to acquire 335 slaves at New Calabar, sold 310 at St Vincent, and returned to Bristol on 7 May 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 148. Voyage ID 18037 in www.slavevoyages.org states that the vessel left Bristol on 22 July 1789.

736 The *Royal Charlotte*, Thomas Waugh master, James Jones & Co. owners, left Bristol on 23 May 1789, acquired 295/351/395slaves in Bonny, sold 260/316/360 at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 25 Apr. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 156; voyage ID 18052 in www.slavevoyages.org.

737 The *James*, William Gibson master, Joseph Story, John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson owners, left Liverpool on 3 Oct. 1786, embarked 98 imputed slaves at Gambia, disembarked 91 imputed slaves at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 8 Feb. 1788. Voyage ID 81950 in www.slavevoyages.org

738 The *Thomas*, John Davis master, John Copland owner, left Liverpool on 18 Aug. 1786, embarked 237 imputed slaves in the Bight of Benin, disembarked 220 imputed slaves at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 3 Sept. 1788. Voyage ID 83755 in www.slavevoyages.org

739 George Baillie was involved in financing slave voyages in the 1780s and 1790s, operating from St Vincent where he owned estates. His business collapsed c.1805. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, p. 98; 'George Baillie,' https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1277571002).

the slaves, the condition of the cargo does Captain Kennedy great credit, He brought 202 slaves here, and we sold on the 3d instant 201 at an average of £33.6.8 which will we hope give satisfaction. Though a nation by no means liked here, we sold one half in the island, which is seldom to be done with Old Calabar's; but to encourage the planters to buy we were obliged to give credit till 1790 & of course to lengthen the sight of our bills. We have however promised Captain Kennedy to draw at 12, 15, 18 & 21 months. We fear the disbursements will be rather heavy, as they were short of every kind of provisions.

The ship is getting ready for sea as far as possible

[127] The National Archives, Kew, Captain John Kennedy, St Vincent, to James Rogers, Bristol, 7 November 1788, C 107/2, James Rogers Papers

Not having an opportunity before to inform you of my arrival on the 18th of October after a long teadius passage of 13 weeks with two hundread & two slaves have never experienced such a disagreeable passage since I have followd the sea, five weeks & four days to Annabona[740] where I got some refreshment for the slaves. Sold on Monday the 3rd Instant 201 slaves average 333 6s. 8d the bills 12 15 18 21 months. Hoping this will meet your abribation [i.e. approbation.] Am sorry to had the deceasd 29 slaves, buried 28 on my passage & one since my arrival. The length of my passage brought me very short of provisions. Only five days provisions at my arrival for slave & white people excepting beef. Thought it most prudent to sell here. There were but few Island purchasers. One half sold off the Island.

Spoke the *Jupiter* in the river the 21st of July all well left Captain Rogers in good health ship rig'd & expect to sail in two or three months after us. Cargo on board *Juba* 82 elephants teeth 332 scravalas[741] 20 puncheons palm oil & about seven tons redwood. Nothing further to add, Shall make all possible dispatch. Expect to sail if possible. Can get ready thee sixteenth instant. Since my last have buried two people John Crawford & William Turner. Myself and officers in good health. Am sorry to say my dockter has not turnd out to my expectations.

[128] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Francis Grant,[742] Trelawny, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 30 December 1788, James Rogers Papers

By the arrival of Captain Sherry which happened about ten days ago at Montego Bay I have had the favour of a letter from you dated the 11th October.

I feel myself at the same time flattered & embarrassed by the unqualified offer you have made me. My thanks are certainly due for the confidence it evinces in me, while circumstanced as I happen to be from a dependence on it for engagements which may or may not take place. I cannot prevail on myself to come to a determination whether

740 A small islet in the Gulf of Guinea.

741 Scrivellos were ivory tusks usually less than 7 lb. Eveline Martin, ed., *Nicholas Owen, Journal of a Slave Dealer* (London, 1930), p. 116 n. 1.

742 A Scottish-born Guinea factor who traded at Martha Brae. He sold 3,906 captives between 1785 and 1796. Nicholas Radburn, 'Guinea Factors, Slave Sales, and the Profits of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: The Case of John Tailyour,' *WMQ*, 72, no. 2 (2015), p. 257; Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, pp. 57-8.

to make proposals to Captain Rogers or not; as he is not arrived yet however it gives me time for consideration.

For the few cargoes I have hitherto sold I have given no guarantee & consequently my remittances in the first instance have been by my own notes of hand which however have generally been taken up before they became due & sometimes I have had permission to apply the amount of what produce I could return by the same vessel in reduction of the nett proceeds, charging the owners at the rates such produce stood me here that is to say the actual first cost; and for the balance I have had one & two years. My average has always been about £45 sterling but when I say this, it is proper I should also inform you I have sold only Gold Coast Negroes which fetch higher prices with us than those of any other country. When I have not been allowed to remit part in produce I have had 15, 24 & 30 months to pay the nett proceeds in England by my own notes as aforesaid. My only reason for refusing guarantee is to save commissions. Negroes from Old Calabar are not nearly in so much estimation with the generality of people amongst us here as from the Gold Coast & I am sorry to add that the last cargo which was sold for that country (Callabar) did not average £35 sterling & there has been three such cargoes sold at Montego Bay this year already.

[129] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Rogers, Dominica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 12 January 1789, James Rogers Papers

Embrace this opportunity per ship *Christopher* per way Liverpool informing you of the indifferent sales of my Negroes. 210 were sold for 51 10 sterling per head 98 or 99 at so low a price as £10 sterling or thereabouts & am very sorry everything have turned out in such unfortunate way. Five of my best people entered on board the *Jupiter* 50 gun ship. I paid the total of their wages in the currency of this island. Five more with ulcers demand their discharge. Paid them all currency likewise. Expect to sail for Bristol in all this month.

I hope by the 25th have on board about 12 or 13 cwt of ivory. There is no prospect of any freight. Captain Welland is not arrived.

[130] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Thomas Papps,[743] Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 12 January 1789, James Rogers Papers

On the preceding side is what I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 4th current when I transmittd my draft on Messrs Ferguson & Collow[744] for £100 sterling. The second of said bill is herewith.

I understand that your ship *Pearl* is daily expected here from Old Callabar, having received a letter from Francis Grant Esquire to deliver to Captain Rogers on his arrival. Negroes are in great demand here, which you will readily suppose when I inform you that the cargo of the *George* Captain Trelfall from Annamaboe consisting

743 An importer of European goods, with a store in Port Royal Street, Kingston. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 553.

744 Ferguson & Collow was a mercantile partnership at Cork for several years prior to 1 July 1789. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/2144929179.

of 477 slaves was sold last week at an average of upwards of £45 sterling per head.[745] On the 6th current the *Vulture*'s cargo of 600 Eboe slaves was sold at Montego Bay & averaged £40 9s. 5d. sterling per head.[746]

The crops this year will in general be good, but late.

[131] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Thomas & William Salmon & Co.,[747] St Elizabeth, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 12 Jan. 1789, James Rogers Papers

We have received your favour of 29 October acquainting us that you had fitted out the *Fly* & *Ruby* for the coast of Africa and had order'd their cargoes to our address. It is not possible to say what price Negroes may [have] been some months hence, but at present they are greatly in demand; a very fine cargo from the Gold Coast (which buried only three slaves on the passage) sold a few days ago in Kingston, the men at £68 the women at £66, and from the apprehension of the slave trade being abolished,[748] joined to the present flourishing situation of this country it is not unlikely but the demand will continue and the prices keep up. You may depend on our utmost exertions in the sale of the cargoes of the *Fly* and *Ruby* whenever they arrive, and that we will make the remittances on as good terms as ships are taken up in other parts of this island.

[132] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker,[749] Sierra Leone, to James Rogers, Bristol, 23 January 1789, James Rogers Papers

I have the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival here per the *Fly*, all very well. I had a long passage out nare [i.e. near] seven weeks. I have deliver'd the goods to James & William Cleveland according to agreement, which they seems to like very well & I have partly agreed with them to take the whole vessels cargo next voyage. He will write you on the business & so shall I early anuf [i.e. enough] to get the cargo

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745 The *George*, Robert Martin and Joseph Threlfall masters, John and James Gregson, James Aspinall, George Case, Edward Wilson, William Gregson, Jr, William Begg owners, left Liverpool on 8 Oct. 1787, embarked 522 imputed slaves at Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 477 imputed slaves in Barbados, and returned to Liverpool on 4 May 1789; voyage ID 81585. www.slavevoyages.org. The letter transcribed here, however, suggests that the slaves were sold in Jamaica, not Barbados.

746 The *Vulture*, James Brown master, Thomas Seaman, James Percival, William Boats owners, left Liverpool on 12 May 1788, embarked 657 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 602 imputed slaves at Montego Bay, and returned to Liverpool on 18 May 1789. Voyage ID 83980 in www.slavevoyages.org.

747 Thomas Salmon was a planter in St Elizabeth parish, Jamaica, who sold slaves at Black River. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 466.

748 In early 1789 William Wilberforce hoped to introduce a motion for the abolition of the slave trade to the House of Commons following the publication of a Privy Council report on the commerce. This was delayed, however, owing to the recalcitrance of the pro-slave trade lobby and the time taken to hear witnesses. The Commons wished to hear their own evidence on the slave trade. This did not occur until Apr. 1791 when a motion for abolishing the slave trade was defeated in parliament by 163 votes to 88. Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London, 1975), pp. 271, 273.

749 Thomas Walker was master of the *Ruby*, which left Bristol on 24 Oct. 1788, sailed from Sierra Leone with 175 slaves, sold 150 at Kingston, and returned to Bristol c. 6 Mar. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 144; voyage ID 18029 in www.slavevoyages.org.

ready, as the cargo must be here in time.

I have made a purchase of 182 Negroes and tomorrow morning proceed down the coast to the different places of trade. I think I can assure you barring any unforeseen accident to make my purchase about 240 Negroes the *Fly*.[750] I do intend sending off to Barbadoes in eight or ten weeks time, if there to sell, according, as he may, find my brother who is to return here again with a few puncheons of rum. I then will have a cargo left ready for him that he may proceed to Jamaica.

I shall not be off the coast before July as times at present is but very indifferent. When I return I shall want a cheap vessel for 120 Negroes but that will be time anuf [i.e. enough] at my return.

[133] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Francis Grant, Trelawny, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 10 February 1789, James Rogers Papers

Shortly before writing to you as before I took a determination to lodge proposals with Mr Papps for the cargo of your ship *Pearl* which had she come to Kingston. I make no doubt would have been accepted by Captain Rogers as they were (in point of average at least) I am certain beyond any offer he could have had at Kingston, but being informed from good authority that Captain Rogers sold his cargo at Dominica, I have withdrawn those proposals. Should you send another to Kingston soon, I may treat for it, as in consequence of expecting the *Pearl* & being disappointed also of a Gold Coast cargo, there are numbers of my usual purchasers wanting Negroes at this time. I do not think I shall take any up after this year.

[134] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, William Rawlinson, Manchester, to Richard Fydell & Co., Chepstow, 18 February 1789, James Rogers Papers

I had the pleasure of your favour 17th ultimo which I should have answered earlier but absence from home in part prevented & have been in constant expectation of hearing about the packs [illegible] but no tidings of them can be obtained here so they must be settled for in your place the charges of which you have been furnished with. With regard to the discounting plan have only to repeat that it is prefer'd but the terms yours last quoted is as much as some of my brother African manufacturers *ever* allow & 10 per cent is as much as *any* individual of them will allow from the time of supplying the order & you will please observe the *Jupiter*s cargo is approaching close to 12 months the esteemd given credit although in African articles it has been & is prolonged to 18 months: but this is the extent of indulgence. What is called check articles & supplied London are drawn for at 14 months time with a bill at 2 months.

The *Jupiter*'s cargo was well executed & the quality of goods [illegible] as did not bear neat profit for even at this time I shall not object allowing 5 per cent on the *Jupiter*s goods drawing now at 9 months which is a greater discount than ever at the same elapse of time I ever allowed any port.

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750 The *Fly*, James Walker master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 27 Sept. 1788, acquired 45 slaves at Sierra Leone, sold them in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 29 July 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 138. Voyage ID 18276 in www.slavevoyages.org states that the ship disembarked 45 at Black River, Jamaica.

[135] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Samuel Chollet & Co., Dominica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 25 February 1789, James Rogers Papers

We have the pleasure to acquaint you of the safe arrival of your schooner the *Daniel* Captain Martin from Old Callabar who called upon us the 21st instant.[751] We should have been happy to have undertaken the sale of his cargo, had the demand for slaves from that country been such as to have afforded us a prospect of approaching your limits; we communicated our opinion to the captain, who in consequence judged it for your interest to proceed to Jamaica – he had on board about 118 Negroes.

It gives us pain to advise you that your ship *Pearl* Captain Richard Rogers, who we despatched about a month ago, having sprung a leak in latitude 22 N was obliged to put back and got with some difficulty into St Kitts the 2d or 3d instant. Captain Rogers mentions that it will be above a month before he shall be able to leave that island for Bristol & desired us to inform you of the circumstance.

We request leave to repeat that every exertion on our part shall be used for your interest in the disposal of any African cargoes you may think proper in future to order to our address.

[136] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Lytcott & Maxwell, Barbados, to James Rogers & Co., 3 March 1789, James Rogers Papers

Your esteem'd favours of the 14th October and the 4th 7 10th November we duly received, and we are much obliged to you in ordering your schooner *Daniel* to our address & that vessel arrived here the 18th ultimo from Old Calabar with a cargo of 118 slaves (39 men 5 men boys 13 boys 46 Women 6 women girls 8 girls & 1 child). We went off and lookd at the cargo and we are very sorry to acquaint you that we cou'd not have averagd the cargo at the limits Captain Martin you wrote him of £35 sterling, as too large a part of the men and women were old people, which at this market are very unsaleable & sell low.

Captain Martin had your orders to proceed to Jamaica, which he did the next day, but intended first to call at Dominica, where he was in hopes of being taken up, and which he coud do without any material prejudice to his passage to Jamaica. We supplyd Captain Martin with what necessarys he wanted to amount £2 16s. 8d currency which you will be pleased to pay to Messrs Thomas Daniel & Sons.[752]

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751 The *Daniel*, Richard Martin master, James Rogers owner, left Bristol on 31 July 1788, embarked 121 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 117 slaves at Martha Brae, and returned to Bristol on 5 June 1789. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 137; voyage ID 18017 in www.slavevoyages.org.

752 Thomas & John Daniel were merchant-planters in Bristol. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 148.

[137] The National Archives, Kew, BT 6/11, Some Particulars of a Voyage to Guinea by James Arnold[753] surgeon of the city of Bristol as delivered to the committee[754] the 21st March 1789

On the 9th August 1787 I sailed from Kingroad on board the brig *Ruby* (late *Little Pearl*) Joseph Williams master for Africa as surgeon of the said vessel. The whole crew including the captain, men and boys amounted to nineteen. On the 25th September following we arrived at the island of Bimbe, the place of our destination. This island, which is a very small one, is situated opposite to that part of the continent of Africa which is distinguished by the name of the high lands of the Cameroons.

1. The methods of obtaining slaves

The first person who was purchased at this island for the ship was a young girl of about fifteen years of age whom we called Eve; for it is usual on board the slave ships to give the appellation of Adam and Eve to the first man and woman brought on board. This girl who was extremely clever and intelligent told me the following tale. "That a goat had been found in her father's garden which, she said, had been purposely put there. That one of the traders and great men of the place came in the morning and finding the goat there, charged her father with having stolen it, and said moreover that nothing less would satisfy him for the offence than one of his daughters as a slave. In consequence of this, he was obliged to produce them or abide by the consequences himself. They were three in number and the great man, liking her the best, whom we called Eve, took her and sold her to those traders who afterwards brought her to the vessel. She came from a place called Bunje,[755] which is on the opposite continent of the Cameroons."

About three months afterwards a young girl about eight years old was brought on board. On being placed on the quarter deck, she either saw or attracted the notice of the other young girl just mentioned. They very soon embraced each other and went below. Their features were much alike, and it appeared upon enquiry that they were sisters. I had never the curiosity to enquire how she came into the situation of a slave.

It repeatedly happens that relations are brought on board, such as brothers and sisters, wives and husbands, and these at separate times. The scenes exhibited between them are often very affecting.

To proceed with my narrative. About three weeks after the *Ruby* had arrived at Bimbe, a black trader brought another on board. They drank together and were sociable in the vessel when on a signal given by the captain to some of the ship's company, the person brought on board was immediately seized and put in irons. He was afterwards carried to the West Indies.

In this manner five others were taken. They were brought to the vessel at five separate times by the traders. They were conducted to the cabin where they refreshed

753 James Arnold sailed on two Bristol slaving voyages as a surgeon's mate and on a further two voyages as a surgeon. He was interviewed by the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson on his visit to Bristol in the summer of 1787. Peter Marshall, *The Anti-Slave Trade Movement in Bristol* (Bristol, 1968), p. 4.

754 i.e. A committee of the House of Lords.

755 A site of a trading fair in the Cameroons. 'The Ship Surgeon's Account' in 'Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery' (https://www.discoveringbristol.org.uk/slavety/routes/from-africa-to-america/ship-journals/surgeons-account/).

themselves, and appeared merry, but on their coming out, were seized by the sailors who had received orders from the captain for that purpose. For I have heard the captain say in all these instances to the sailors 'Mind, such an one is intended for us, stand by and seize him,' or words of that meaning.

Three males and one female were also on board the *Ruby* who were said to have been sold for debt. One of these was a trader. He had borrowed a gun of another trader to compleat his assortment. He was unable however to return it on demand. In consequence of this he was seized and sold. The history of this man I learnt from the person who brought him on board the vessel.

There were also among the slaves as far as I could learn from enquiry some who had been sold for adultery. One of these confessed he had been guilty but others that they were innocent, this crime having been purposely laid to their charge that they might be taken and sold.

On board the *Ruby* were also five or six, who had received wounds, which wounds had seemingly been made either by a cutlass or a knife; for they appeared except one to be clean cut. One man had a wound on the right ankle, and another had a wound on one side of the head. The forefinger of a third was nearly cut off. These wounds must have been given them while the *Ruby* lay at Bimbe for they came under my care; and did not appear to have been more than of a week's date.

I did not enquire of these how they became slaves, but set them down in my own mind as having been taken either by a stratagem or force; that they had been resisting the efforts of their captors; and that during their resistance, they had met with the above wounds.

I was the more confirmed in this opinion because we had several boys, from the age of seven to twelve, who had no relations on board. These boys could never have come to us either for adultery or debt, but must, I think, have been stolen or taken by fraud or by force, which custom I believe to be much in force.

If there is any other circumstance to strengthen my opinion more, it is that I have heard Captain Williams often say who had been long in the slave trade that people watch in the long grass at Angola and make slaves of all those who chance to be passing that way.

By these means, vizt, by means of charges (either feigned or real) of adultery or debt, by enticing people on board and detaining them forcibly, and by means of treachery of other kinds (as I verily believe) many of these slaves whom we had on board the *Ruby* were obtained.

2. Manner of bringing the slaves to the vessel and examining them there

The slaves who thus came into our power were all of them brought from the opposite continent. The traders of Bimbe were accustomed to go for them in their canoes. They attended fairs that were held at Bunje; and it is worthy of remark that more were universally brought down to us at the full moon than at any other time.

When the traders had bargained for their slaves on the continent, they led or drove them down to their canoes. This was done in the following manner. The arms of some of the slaves were tied behind them and made fast with a kind of ivy which is used there as a rope. Round their necks was a collar made of roots or twigs and to this was fastened a pole of about three inches in diameter and three yards long of the following form

The circle of AB represents the collar and B the pole or handle with which they

are led along. This was the situation of some, while others were secured in a different manner. The arms of those to whom I allude were not tied behind their backs in the former case but werte confined by means of a board.

X y represents such a board. The two circles are the two holes through which their hands are put, and a b is a pin of wood which is fixt tight upon the wrist.

Confined in this manner they were placed in the bottom of the canoes, generally about five in each, and conveyed to Bimbe. The traders having first prepared them there for sale brought them on board the *Ruby*, many of them were in a shocking situation, but particularly those whose arms were tied behind them, for the twisted ropes before mentioned had been drawn so tight across the wrists and other parts that their arms were much swelled and the deep marks occasioned by them were not erased for some time.

The slaves who are thus brought down by the raders from Bunje and other places on the continent are not all of them natives of those parts. For a female on board the *Ruby* had come a considerable way from the interior country. No one [on] board could understand her language. Having learnt a little English in the course of her voyage, she gave us to understand that she had been purchased for a few beads that in travelling down she was sold to a trader for some beads and manilloes who, conducting her still further, sold her for beads, manilloes and some cloth. In this way she travelled on increasing her value and came at last to the vessel. She was much frightened on the firing of a gun and said she had seen no such instrument in her country. She said also that she had travelled for six moons.

In the manner then before mentioned we received our slaves on board the *Ruby*. It was my business to examine them, before they were purchased for the vessel. If a man was ruptured or a women had a fallen breast,[756] we never bought them. If they did not exceed four feet they were refused.[757] Much also depended on the goodness of their eyes and teeth. I believe we refused as many as we bought.

3. Manner of the Trade

It was usual in those parts where the *Ruby* lay as to trust such of the principal traders who were people of character with goods from the ship. Those to whom we were particularly known were King George, King Peter and Quon, a very capital trader, all from the Cameroons, King Mason, his son Captain Dick, Peter, Bimbe Tom, Bimbe Jack, and great and little Tom from the island of Bimbe.

But though as I observed before, we intrust the traders with goods, with which they go to the fairs, yet we expect that they should leave us something as a pledge for their return. To satisfy us in this particular they leave their children and relations in our custody whom we distinguish by the name of pawns. As the traders bring us slaves or in other words as they pay their debts, these are released. But if they are unable to discharge them at an appointed day, which day is fixt for the sailing of the ship, they are taken to the West Indies and sold.

The following is an example of what I have now been relating. While we were

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756 This was taken as an indication that a woman's childbearing years were over.

757 The height reference was taken as an indication that those less than four feet were children.

lying at the island of Bimbe Captain Bibby of the *Molly* of Liverpool[758] came out of the River Cameroons to the cape of the same name having several pawns on board belonging to three of the traders before mentioned, vizt. King George, King Peter and Quon. Captain Bibby had given them notice that he would sail to the Cape, and that he would wait there three days before he went to sea, and that if the pawns were not redeemed by that time he should take them the to the West Indies and sell them there.

In consequence of this declaration, the three Cameroon traders before mentioned came to the island of Bimbe and begged of Captain Williams of the *Ruby* to spare them some slaves and ivory that they might redeem those pawns, which the beforementioned Captain Bibby had threatened to take away.

Captain Williams did not wholly comply with their request. However he spared them eleven slaves and five teeth, which they immediately carried on board the *Molly*: in consequence of which six or seven of their pawns were released. All these were brought to the *Ruby* and there kept as pawns for those goods which Captain Williams had advanced to the traders before mentioned.

This happened on the 5th of February 1788 and on the next day the *Molly* sailed for the West Indies, having on board by the best information I could collect about 30 pawns.

The transaction of which I have now been speaking was attended with bad consequences. For the traders when they found that Bibby had actually sailed were so incensed that they immediately left us and returned to the Cameroons with a determination to seize and stop all the captains of every description whether in the ivory or slave trade who might be there. Five of them (as I was afterwards repeatedly informed) were accordingly taken, carried into the country to the different towns of the three traders before mentioned and chained down to trees. In this situation the traders insisted upon it that a schooner should be dispatched after Bibby to bring back the pawns and that they should remain in confinement till her return. A scooner was accordingly dispatched, with slaves on board to give in exchange for the said pawns. In the interim however, and before the return of the said schooner, the officers of the different vessels, aided by the seamen, who were armed, went to release the above captains from their confinement. One sailor was wounded and one black man was killed and other wounded in the scuffle. By these means four of the captains were released; but the fifth, named Bean, captain of a large ship belonging to London, being farther inland, could not be rescued, and was still in confinement when the *Ruby* left the coast.

By means then of these pawns which I have now sufficiently described, the trade at Bimbe and the Cameroons is carried on. The medium of exchange at these places is called a bar. This bar is worth about four shillings in our money.[759] A gun is generally speaking sold to the natives for three bars and a prime slave in these parts does not, I believe, cost us more than from ten to twelve pounds per head.

I am sorry to be obliged to confess that the slave trade at Bimbe and the Cameroons,

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758 The *Molly*, Robert Bibby master, George Case, James Aspinall, William Gregson, Sr and Jr, John and James Gregson, Edward Wilson, William Begg owners, left Liverpool on 20 Sept. 1786, embarked 349 imputed slaves at the Cameroons, disembarked 320 at Dominica, and returned to Liverpool on 4 July 1788. Voyage ID 82771 in www.slavevoyages.org.

759 'Bars' were one of the main units of currency used in exchanging goods for slaves in West Africa. The meaning of 'bars' and their equivalencies is explained in F. William Torrington, ed., *House of Lords Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century* (Dobbs Ferry, NY, 1978), 1798-9, vol. iii, pp. 133-5.

as far as my observations went, was conducted on the principal of force. Of this I shall give some instances which have fallen under my own knowledge. A day or two before we arrived at Bimbe the *Comet*, Captain Wilding of Liverpool, was laying there;[760] I must now observe that the natives of Bimbe subsist principally upon fish. It so happened that they were employed in this occupation at this time. Captain Wilding considering that the more there were employed in this way, the less there would be to go for slaves, and the longer he would be in compleating his cargo, determined to force them to be employed in the slave trade. He accordingly fired among them while they were attending their fish pots in their canoes, and endeavoured by these means to strike such a terror into them as to make them leave their employment. This I heard from Captain Wilding's own mouth when he visited us on board the *Ruby*. The *Ruby* fired upon them also.

Captain Williams was also equally well known for forcing trade, and for forcing the natives to trade upon his own terms. I have seen different black traders come on board to dispose of their ivory, and I have seen them repeatedly beaten by the captain and put into irons because they would not comply with his terms in taking inferior goods in exchange for their commodities. Of this I shall give the following instance, as it will show the bad effects which may result from such bad proceedings.

On the island of Bimbe the most considerable trader, and a man of greatest consequence, was called Bimbe Jack. One morning he came on board with ivory to trade. The captain, having reserved his best guns for the purchase of slaves, offered him others of an inferior sort. Those he refused to take, saying he should never be able to dispose of them to the other traders. Upon this the captain immediately seized him and, with some assistance, confined him. He put a collar round his neck to which was fastened a large chain. The end of this chain was put through two ring bolts on the deck and locked to the farthermost bolt with a key, which key was afterwards kept in the captain's cabin. The captain however pretended that he did not stop him for refusing the guns but for the debts contracted by the three Cameroon traders before mentioned whose pawns he had released from Bibby.

Bimbe Jack, astonished at this treatment, asked him how he could possibly stop him for another man's debts; that he was not a Cameroon man; that the Cameroons were not Bimbe, nor Bimbe the Cameroons; that if he had had any share in the transaction, or, if he had ever passed his word for the Cameroon traders, the case would have been quite altered but that he had never done so, and that he had therefore been very unjustly seized and detained.

At this juncture and while this act of violence was taking place, Bimbe Jack's canoe was alongside of the vessel and some of the canoe boys in it. Little Tim however, a black trader who had come with him was on board the brig, and seeing the transaction jumpt immediately into the canoe, and pulled away for the island. The captain immediately upon this ordered the two topsails to be bent, and went over the bar with the schooner *St Andrew* Capt. Martin belonging to Mr Teaste of Bristol[761] in the wood and ivory trade, fearing lest his vessel, in consequence of seizing and

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760 The *Comet*, Richard Wilding master, Thomas Staniforth, Joseph Matthews, Roger Leathom, Gill Slater, John Robinson, Joseph Brooks, Jr, John Bolton, William Pole, Thomas Cropper, Thomas Ryan, Joseph Hughes and Thomas Carter owners, left Liverpool on 5 Apr. 1787, embarked 359 imputed slaves at Bimbia, disembarked 328 imputed slaves at St. Vincent, and returned to Liverpool on 25 June 1788. Voyage ID 80874 in www.slavevoyages.org.

761 i.e. Sydenham Teaste: see document no. 71.

confining Bimbe Jack, who was a man of the first consequence in the island, might be cut off.

The *Ruby* continued over the bar for about three or four days, when on account of the very heavy tornadoes and inclemency of the weather, as well as a want of water for the middle passage, she came in again with the schooner St Andrew, Bimbe Jack having been all this time in confinement.

When the *Ruby* had crossed the bar again, her boat was sent for water, in company with the St Andrew's boat, and the men were armed. They completed the *Ruby*'s water. But during this time of watering several canoes were seen hovering about from different parts, which gave the captain reason to suppose that they intended to take the boats but they were deterred at that time on account of the ship's guns.

About three days afterwards Captain Williams, having now completed his own water, hailed Captain Martin to know if he had gotten water for his own vessel, and that if he had not completed it, he had better do it now, and that he would assist him. Captain Martin made a reply, in consequence of which the *Ruby*'s boat with the second mate and four men well armed was sent off, and was joined by that of the *St Andrew* whose people were armed in the same manner. In consequence of the mate and four seamen having gone off in the boat (as now described) and four others having died before, there were left on board the *Ruby*, including the Captain, myself, men and boys, but ten white persons.

Such was the situation of affairs on board upon the *Ruby* when the natives made an attempt to retaliate upon us for our conduct to Bimbe Jack, the whole process and success of which will be found in the following description.

A trader of Bimbe came aboard us and demanded a debt of salt. One or two people came with him into the ship, but his canoe men remained in his canoe, which was lying by the bows of the vessel. In a little time the chief mate and some of the crew were employed in measuring and keeping a reckoning of the salt.

While they were so employed a second canoe was discovered to be coming to the ship with a slave on board, and a third with two: upon which the chief mate went to the captain and expressed his alarm on the occasion: But the captain desiring him to mind his own business and measure out the salt, the two traders with their slaves were accordingly admitted on board the vessel.

Being now on board they proceeded to the captain's cabin, with whom they were bargaining for their slaves, when a fourth canoe coming alongside, the captain left them to purchase fish. They immediately took advantage of his absence and got possession of the key that was hanging up in the cabin, and that belonged to the chain, which confined their countryman Bimbe Jack. This was immediately conveyd to him, and, while the captain was busy in purchasing his fish, he endeavoured to unlock his chain.

The carpenter however perceiving the attempt that was now making informed the captain; when he was instantly seized by Bimbe Jack and by the assistance of another black man was confined. At the same instant the two traders before mentioned seized the captain, while those who overlooked the measuring of the salt pushed the chief mate, cooper and others overboard into the canoe that was then lying at the bows of the vessel. By this time some of the canoe men had jumpt into the brig, and the canoes that were fishing at no great distance from the vessel joined them immediately and great numbers of the natives were soon on board.

They took care as speedily as possible to secure us, and to put us into their canoes.

When this was done they released Bimbe Jack and three Cameroon traders who had been detained in the same manner. They released also the Cameroon and Bimbe pawns together with eight men boy slaves who were then upon the deck. This being effected, they left the vessel carrying their prisoners pawns slaves and everything on shore.

The black people on our landing were very riotous, but particularly the women who began to pelt us with stones, fish, sand and whatever they could collect as well as to tear by main force the very cloaths from our backs. The captain was stripped stark naked and the same collar (I believe) was put upon his neck which he had put upon Bimbe Jacks. He was chained with the same chain to a tree; and at the same tree were confined the carpenter and the chief mate in the same manner, where they remained during the whole of the night; several of the natives walking round them with their lances and muskets and guarding them. The rest of us were disposed of at the different traders houses and treated well.

Bimbe Jack, however, though he had been so ill used, took compassion on his oppressor the captain, and brought him a coat to shelter him, and gave him some rum and water to drink. The next morning he was released from the tree, though he still walked about in the chain and collar and was properly guarded and secured. As for the mate and carpenter they still remained at the tree. The captain was detained in the island from May 7th 1788 to May 10th.

During this time it had been settled at a palaver or council of the island that the captain on account of his violent behaviour, should give up to the natives all the articles of trade that then remained in his vessel. That the pawns and slaves that had been released should be forfeited to them, and that every debt then due to the ship should be cancelled, and that upon no other terms should he and his people be released. In consequence of this, all the articles of trade that remained which were sufficient for the purchase of 36 slaves were brought on shore and we were all happily released.

Such were the consequences of the captain's rash conduct to Bimbe Jack, and of his endeavours to force a trade, and such I believe have ever been and will be the effects of such treatment. A boat belonging to the *Comet* of Liverpool was cut off by the natives of Fernando Po while on trade for yams, and but one person was saved. Another boat, belonging to the *John* of London,[762] on her passage from the Windward Coast to the Cameroons, shared the same fate, and the whole crew amounting to five were killed. All this happened while we were at Bimbe, and so long as we continue to trade as we do, so long (I believe) similar instances will be found.

To proceed, besides the instance of Captain Wildings firing among the people of Bimbe to make them pursue the slave trade, and Captain Williams's conduct to Bimbe Jack to make him trade upon his own terms, I will mention one or two instances more.

Three Cameroon traders came one night on board of us with their ivory to trade. The captain for the same reason as he had confined Bimbe Jack, seized them and put them in irons; and exactly on the same pretence. They happened to be in confinement when the natives of Bimbe took the ship as before related, and I verily believe that if

762 The *John*, William Willoughby master, William Camden, Anthony Calvert and Thomas King owners, left London on 15 Aug. 1787, embarked 119 imputed slaves in the Cameroons, disembarked 110 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned directly to Africa after bringing slaves to the Americas. Voyage ID 82054 in www.slavevoyages.org.

they had not been released at that time, we should have taken them to the West Indies and sold them as slaves.

At another time Captain Williams had entrusted a Bimbe trader with as many goods as were equivalent to the purchase of a slave. The trader having been at Bunje and other places, returned with two, one of which he sold to Captain Williams, and the other to Captain Wilding of the *Comet* before mentioned. One day afterwards he came on board of us with his two brothers when all the three were seized and put in irons by the order of Captain Williams because he had dared to sell a slave to Captain Wilding; nor was one of them releasded 'till the King (whose sons they were) had brought some slave or slaves to the ship, and by these means given him the preference to the other. In this manner did Captain Williams force a trade, doing many arbitrary things, nor did he ever consider in what way a slave was taken so long as ghe could get him into his possession; having often said, that if he had had a ship of sufficient force, he would have laid siege to the island and have taken away all he could; which even now he threatens to do if he can get another ship.

4. On the treatment of slaves and their situation with some anecdotes

The Ruby lying at Bimbe, a woman was one day brought to us to be sold. She came with a child in her arms. The captain refused to purchase her on that account, not wishing to be plagued with a child on board. In consequence of this she was taken back to the shore; on the following morning however she was again brought to us but without the child and she was apparently in great sorrow. The black trader, who brought her on board informed me that the child had been killed in the night to accommodate us in the sale.

A certain man slave who had been brought to us, on being put into the mess with the rest of the slaves refused to eat. The captain, on being informed of it, came forward with a cat and flogged him. The man continuing to refuse sustenance for two or three days was repeatedly flogged both by the captain and chief mate 'till his body, lacerated in various parts, was shocking to behold.

While the man was in this deplorable situation, a trader chanced to come on board us with a slave. The captain, I his usual arbitrary way, insisted that the trader should give up his own slave whom he had just brought to us, and receive the man who had been so lacerated for refusing to eat, in return. The trader was obliged to comply with his commands. The poor man in consequence of having refused sustenance so long, and having been so severely and repeatedly flogged, was quite helpless, and was obliged to be dragged along the deck like a corpse into the traders canoe. In this manner we got rid of him.

I must add here that many of the slaves would not eat, and that I have always seen them on such occasions flogged in an unmerciful manner, the captain being generally the executioner himself, and delighting in such operations.

It is not unusual for the boy slaves, who are brought on board to insult the men, who being in irons, cannot easily pursue and punish them for it. This was the case on board the *Ruby*. One of the boys had been very active in tormenting one of the men. The man however having caught him unexpectedly, gave him a punch. The boy immediately cried out. The captain in consequence of this ordered the man to be tied up, whom he flogged on all parts of his body promiscuously in so barbarous a manner that he was obliged to be placed for some time under my care. In short I have frequently seen the men brought up and flogged by the captain's own hands on

a similar account.

On board the *Ruby* was a young girl, who had been purchased into the ship. The captain retained her as his favorite mistress, and kept her in his own cabin. She had been one day playing with his son and had accidentally torn his shirt. The captain informed of the circumstance, used her in the most cruel manner. He whipped her so severely with the cat, and beat her so unmercifully with his fist that she threw herself from him against the pumps. This occasioned a large contusion on her head. In short his treatment of her was so shocking, though she had lived as his mistress for five or six months before that period, that she was ill in consequence of it for three days.[763]

I have stated in the former part of my narrative that the captain, together with the mates, myself, and a part of the crew, were prisoners on the island of Bimbe. When the captain on that occasion was permitted to return to his ship, he returned with a wonman slave, who had been purchased on the day of his capture but had in the general confusion been plundered from the ship. He took the opportunity of repurchasing her at that time, and of carrying her on board. In the evening he sent for her, and orderd her to come by herself. He attempted to sleep with her in the cabin, but on refusing to comply with his desires, she was severely beaten by him and sent below.

It was a general practice with the captain, on the receipt of a woman slave, to send for her into his cabin for the same purposes and I have seen several who resisted his attempts beaten in the same manner.

There were three females on board the *Ruby* who threatened several times to throw themselves overboard. The captains ordered them to be put in irons. Two of them he flogged repeatedly, the other bein more resolute than the rest he found means to dispose of to Captain Bibby.

Among those that were brought on board us was a woman who was in a very dejected state of mind. She was immediately seized with convulsion fits. Sometimes she cried excessively. At other times she laughed in the same excess. At other times she a most dreadful noise, so that the ship was greatly disturbed; in consequence of which the captain disposed of her the next day. Whether he beat her or not I do not immediately recollect, but ghis whole behaviour was excessively cruel to the slaves, and I believe that there was scarcely one of them who did not, at one time or other, feel the effects of his savage temper. But his barbarity was not confined to the slaves alone for even the pawns that were put on board us, whon were not under his jurisdiction as slaves, did not escape his fury, being beaten and put into irons on every trifling occasion.

I have now mentioned some of those particular anecdotes, of which I have the most perfect recollection. With regard to their treatment in other respects, it may be included in the history of one days occurrences in the vessel.

The slaves were generally brought upon deck at about 8 o'clock in the morning. The women were not confined, but the men were in irons, in which they remained through the whole of the middle passage.

They had two meals in the day. Their provision, while on the coast, consisting of plantains and yams, and, while on the middle passage, of yams, rice, and horse beans, and sometimes a bit of bread. They had also one pint of water per day, for

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763 Captains commonly took a female slave as a mistress during the Middle Passage. Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York, 2007), p. 203.

each person, which was served to them at two different times in a pannekin,[764] which contained about half a pint.

It was usual to make them dance in order that they might exercise their limbs, and preserve their health. This was done by means of a cat of nine tails,[765] with which they were driven about one among another, one of their country drums beating at the same time. On these occasions they were compelled to sing, the cat being brandished over them for that purpose. It was the business of the chief mate to dance the men, and of myself and the second mate to dance the women. The men could only jump up and rattle their chains, but the women (as I observed before) were driven in one among another. The words which we learned them to pronounced, and compelled them to sing, while they were dancing, were 'Messe Messe Mackarida' that is 'good living ormessing well among white men,' teaching them, in these words, to praise us for suffering them to live so well.

At other times, when the women were sitting by themselves below, I have heard them singing, but always at these times in tears. Their songs then contained the history of their lives, and their separation from their friends and country. These songs were very disagreeable to the captain, who has taken them up and flogged them in so terrible a manner for no other reason than this, that I have been a fortnight or three weeks healing the incisions made on those occasions.

I have mentioned before that the slaves were brought upon deck about eight in the morning. I am now to mention that, having received their last meal, they were about five in the evening put below.

This history of a days occurrences in the *Ruby* is only true when the weather is fine. For if the sea is rough, the slaves are unable to dance, and if it rains they are kept below. This latter circumstance is peculiarly distressing, for the gratings being necessarily on that account covered over with the tarpaulins such a heat is the consequence below that the slaves are nearly suffocated. I was several times on board the *Ruby* called down, on such occasions, to the women slaves. Some I have found fainting away and insensible, in which state they have remained in spite of every medical assistance for some time. In consequence of their wretched situation at these times, the dysentery is created, and much mucus being found on the floor, the scene is shocking.

The decription now given refers to transactions both upon the coast and the Middle Passage. Our stay at Bimbe was eight months. The time from leaving Bimbe to our arrival at Barbadoes which was on the 27th June 1788 was about seven weeks. From Barbadoes we went to St Vincents to sell our slaves. But none of them were wanted there. We then proceeded to Grenada for the same purpose: But this island was also not in want of them. Two Liverpool ships, vizt. the *Kitty* Captain

764 A metal cup coated in enamel.

765 Slaves who refused to dance on the main deck of a slaving vessel were usually whipped. The cat o'nine tails, with its wooden handle and nine rope tails with a single knot at the end, was the main implement used to inflict the punishment. Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, pp. 370-1.

Wilkinson[766] and *Viper* Captain Matthews[767] were there at the same time but could not sell. At last a Dutchman from Demarary, who happened to be at Grenada, at the time purchased our slaves from us by means of Campbell Baillie and Co. He gave us about thirty five pounds five shillings per head, and sent them afterwards in a sloop to Demerary. A great part of the cargoes of the two Liverpool ships, before mentioned, were I believe sold to foreigners as there were several Dutch, Spanish, and French schooners at Grenada for the purpose of buying slaves. Having sold our slaves as before described, we lay three weeks at Grenada and sailing from thence arrived at Kingroad on Saturday evening August the 23rd 1788.

5th On the treatment of the seamen

We sailed from Kingroad on the 9th August 1787, having on board, including the captain, myself, mates, men and boys, nineteen persons.

When the vessel was getting under weigh, we were called upon to sign our articles. When it came to my turn, I desired to peruse them first as there might be some clauses to which I might have an objection to put my name. The captain however refused me, saying that if I would not sign them I might go on shore. My situation was such at that time that I consented to sign them. The rest of the people followed my example, no one whatever having been permittd to see the clauses to which he affixed his name. This was also the case in a former voyage in the same brig, which had then the name of the *Little Pearl*.

For the first five weeks we had plenty of provisions; the seamen had pease, flour, beef, pork and suet in abundance: but when they arrived upon the coast, the scene was suddenly reversed, their allowance reduced, and they were deprived of the common necessaries of life. Their allowance at this time was but 3 lb of bread to each man per week (which was served out every Sunday morning) and ¾ of a lb per day (which was served out every morning) of such wretched pork or beef that on being boiled it was reduced to four ounces and a half (apothecaries weight)[768] for I have often weighed it.

It was impossible for a man to have more than one meal in the day with these provisions (however economical he might be, or weak his appetite). But there were often days in which a sailor had no bread to eat. Their allowance of this article was served out to them (as I stated before) once a week. It has been consumed in the first three days: for the remainder therefore they were obliged to languish on four ounces of meat, without any yams or plantains, in misery and pain.

To make their situation more wretched, it was seldom that a drop of spirits was given them. The only indulgence which they had in this respect was a pint of English brandy amongst eight people, and this only once or twice in a month: and though in

766 The *Kitty*, John Cotter and John Wilkinson masters, William Dennison, James Carruthers, Clement Noble, Thomas Staniforth, Francis Ingram, Joseph Brooks, Jr, Thomas Molyneux, John Sargent, Christopher Chambers, Robert Rolleston owners, left Liverpool on 23 Feb. 1787, embarked 530 imputed slaves at Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 418 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 21 Nov. 1788. Voyage ID 82189 in www.slavevoyages.org.

767 The *Viper*, Joseph Matthews master, John and James Gregson, James Aspinall, George Case, Edward Wilson, William Gregson, Jr and Edward Falkner owners, left Liverpool on 5 Apr. 1787, embarked 530 imputed slaves at Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 485 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 4 Sept. 1788. Voyage ID 83973 in www.slavevoyages.org.

768 A traditional system of weight used in Britain for the measuring and dispensing of pharmaceutical items.

wooding for the ship they have been up to their armpits in water for a length of time, and required every necessary of life, three months once elapsed without their ever tasting a drop of water to comfort them.

It was usual (while we lay on the coast) for the captains to visit each other. The seamen who rowed them were often absent for twelve hours. During all this time they have remained in the open boat alongside of the different vessels, nor has a morsel of provisions entered into their lips. On their return to their own ships they have perhaps had nothing even then to eat.

A sick man on board among others had been so reduced by hunger as to have eaten raw plantains. The cooper on opening a cask of beef took out a piece and hid it in his chest. The next day he gave it to the sick man and desired him to hide it. This being afterwards found out, every man's chest was immediately broke up and burnt.

This circumstance contributed to render their situation in this respect still more dreadful than before, for they had now no place to put their provisions. Their bread in consequence of it has been wet through and spoiled by the rain, and they have been without it for many days.

It is impossible for any tongue to describe the miseries which the seamen underwent in consequence of a want of provisions. I myself have experienced inexpressible hardships. And I positively declare that if I had been so fortunate as to [have] taken a dog with me from England I should have killed him to satisfy my hunger. The only time in which I had a sufficiency of provisions from the time of the curtailing of our allowance to the time of our arrival in the West Indies was when I was a prisoner at Bimbe. Four meals were given me by the natives in one day whereas at that time I could get but one on board my own vessel.

Whatever I have described to be the scene on board the *Ruby* (so far as relates to provisions) the same also I found it to be on board her in the preceding voyage, when she was called the *Little Pearl*.

To the inconveniences now mentioned, I must add the following, that the seamen had no shelter and that they may be said to have been exposed night and day from the first sailing of the vessel.

When they left Kingroad, the steerage and all the space between the decks, except a small portion of it, was occupied by the goods taken out for the purchase of the slaves. The small place alluded was forward, in which it was impossible for the sailors to be (the vessel being low and small) without being continually wet from the sprays of the sea or from the rain. This was their situation on their passage to the coast, and, when the vessel arrived there, this place was made a storehouse to contain glass and pot ware for trade, so that they had then no place in which they could put their heads.

In consequence o this, all of them except four were obliged to lay upon the bare decks. These decks were ashed every night, and as there was no sun to dry them must have for many hours remained wet. The four hammocks however which had been allowed to be hung up under the booms were soon after our arrival on the coast ordered to be taken down, so that all of them were then without shelter and obliged to sleep on the deck.

This continual exposure to all the inclemency of the weather, added to that in wooding the vessel, and a want of the necessaries of life, made the situation of the seamen inconceivably wretched.

6th Treatment of the seamen continued
In speaking of the treatment which the seamen of the *Ruby* experienced, there was none more shocking than that which they experienced when sick.

In this situation they were not permitted to go between the decks, or to have any shelter, any more than when they were well. They had no herb tea, no wine, nor any kind of nourishment additionally allowed them. On the other hand their very provisions were taken from them, and a little rice substituted in their stead: for whenever a man was ill, I informed the captain of it, an he has always desired me to go directly to the second mate and tell him to stop his provisions, concluding with these words, "No work no victuals."

The manner too, in which he always expressed himself at these times, was really horrid. On the 11th December 1787, the ship then lying at the island of Bimbe, William Bullson, seaman, was extremely ill of an inflammatory fever. The captain asked me in the hearing of the chief mate how he was. I replied that Bullson was nearly gone. The captain said in his reply "let him die and be damned."

On the 23rd of December the chief mate, being ill, went for shelter into the steerage among the women slaves. The captain asked me where Smith was. I replied "in the steerage." He then asked me what he was doing there. I replied that "he was upon his chest exeedingly ill" upon which he said "that he could not be going to Hell yet."

These instances shew the unfeeling manner I which the sick were treated on board the *Ruby*. But the want of comfortable diet and nourishment was of all others the greatest hardship. Two seamen, of the names of Rankin and Powel, had each fevers. They had nearly recovered but for want of proper diet and support and from the circumstance of being put to their work before they could bear it, fell ino a relapse and died.

The number of people that went out with the *Ruby* as I have before stated were nineteen, and the number that died were four.

The causes of the mortality on the coast are in general fevers inflammatory or putrid and dysenteries.[769] These are occasioned in general by wooding the ships, by exposure on the middle passage, and by a want of the common necessaries of life; to which may be added ill usage. These are some of the first causes, and when seamen are once sick, it is very difficult from a want of nourishing things, and a continuation of their exposure on deck to save them.

7th Treatment of seamen continued

It was difficult on board the *Ruby* to ascertain a seaman's real name. He was either called by the name of a "red or blue villain [sic]" accrding to the colour of his jacket. In short, hisreal name was never used. I have been for some time on board and totally ignorant of a sailor's name and I have been frequently at a loss, when one of them has died, how to put him down in my own private journal; the constant use of these low and vulgar appellations having been the means of concealing his real name.

But happy would it have been for the semen of the *Ruby* if they had been debased by these odious appellations alone. They were so unfortunate however as to be additionally debased by blows, scourges, and such treatment as their conduct

769 Sailors often contracted yellow fever or malaria while on shore in West Africa. Those new to the region had no immunity to to insect-borne fevers, which could prove fatal. Stephen D. Behrendt, 'Crew Mortality in the Transatlantic Slave trade in the Eighteenth Century,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 18, no. 1 (1997), p. 59; Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, p. 298.

never merited and such as only the most hardened could have inflicted upon them, specimens of which will be seen in the flowing account.

On the 13th October 1787 the vessel then lying at Bimbe, James Jones the cook was bringing some billets of wood from the main hatchway to the place of cooking. Not being able to bring them away at the same time, he left one of the billets on the main deck. The captain inquiring who had left it there was answered by the cook (who had just just laid down is lod and was then going to fetch it) that it had been left by him. Upon this he seized him and knocked him down with his fist. His underlip was almost cut through in consequence of the blows. He came and complained to me, and told me this tale. I accordingly dressed his lip.

The same person, on the passage from Kingroad to Africa, had before been violently beaten by the captain with his fist only because he had said 'it was hard that the hogs should be served with peas before the white people,' and struck with a fore sheet, a rope of at least four inches in circumference. During the whole voyage afterwards he was in continual fear and agitation, the mate and captain having aftrards frequently struck him, and the latter continually threatening to tie him up and flog him.

On the 30th October 1787 Thomas Wyatt, cooper of the *Ruby*, was flogged by Captain Williams with a cat of nine tails on his bare back. The captain going forward at night at the time of the cooper's watch, and seeing him sitting down, charged him with either sleeping or having slept on his watch. The man replied "that he had not slept." In the morning the captain ordered him to be tied up by both his hands to the main shrouds, and his feet to be extended and confined by ropes below. In this situation he flogged him as before mentioned, with his own hand, giving him twelve lashes, which made his back raw. He appeared rather to have flogged him for saying "that he had not slept" and thereby contradicting him, than for any just cause.

On the 14th December 1787 four of the crew Thomas Morgan, Walter Powel, the before mentioned Thomas Wyatt and another seaman became intoxicated by means of some English brandy from the hold. The cooper, Wyatt, pumping the brandy off for the traders use, drank a little of it himself and gave some to his messmates before described. At this time there was not one of them who had tasted spirits for three months so that a little had the freater effect upon them, nor were they afterwards (though they had every opportunity in the West Indies) seen in liquor, but were an uncommonly sober set of men, and were much noticed at Grenada for their behaviour. On the next morning however, after the intoxication had taken place, Thomas Morgan and Walter Powell were tied up to the main shrouds and flogged with a dozen each, the former by the captain, and the latter by the chief mate. The cooper Wyatt, a good young man, and particularly attentive to his duty, was not admitted to share their fate but was most cruelly beaten by the captain in all parts of his body with a double inch rope and struck with his fist promiscuously on all parts of his face. The next morning he came to me in a terrible condition. I examined him, and found several contusions on his back, breast and downwards to the thighs. His head also and his face were much swelled, and he appeared to have suffered much.

On the 9th of March 1788 Parsons another of the ships crew was standing on the deck and handing plantains from the Boome. The chief mate, thinking that he did not hand them quick enough, took advantage of his posture as he was reaching up and struck him with his double fist on the lower ribs. In consequence of this, he fell. The cooper who had seen the circumstance came to me as quick as he could and told me

"that if I did not immediately go to Parsons, I should not see him alive." I accordingly went forward and found him lying upon the deck. I spoke to him several times, but received no answer. He appeared to be quite insensible and his breath nearly gone. Upon this I bled him, upon which he began gradually to recover. On his recovery he told me that he thought he should never have spoken again. He was not fully restored for one day.

At another time, while the vessel was lying at Bimbe, Parsons happened, in hauling the boat to the ship, to slip overboard. He was taken up by a seaman and brought on board, but apparently half drowned, and very ill. Having been called, as on the former occasion, I was going forward, when the captain seeing me with a bottle, fillet and lancets, told me in a rough and contemptible manner "that I was not wanted, but that Parsons was drunk, and that he might die and be damned." In consequence of this I returned back to the medicine chest. The poor man continued to be ill for some days, when I attended him privately.

At another time the same Parsons was on deck in the evening (the vessel still lying at the island of Bimbe). He had at that time two large scorbutic ulcers on his right leg, and was sitting down. The captains favorite cabin boy (William Williams) came forward, and purposely trod upon his ulcers, which put him to much pain. Parsons being in great agony on the occasion, told Williams that, if he did so again, he would strike him ormade use of words of that meaning. Notwithstanding this, the said Williams, relying upon the Captain's protection, purposely repeated his ill usage. A scuffle ensued, when Williams being overpowered cried out. The captain immediately came out of his cabin, and without any enquiry, beat the said Parsons both with a rope and with is fist in a very barbarous manner. Parsons came to me the next morning to complain. I found several contusions on his shoulders, his face much swelled, his legs in a dreadful situation, and he had lost much blood from his nose and mouth in the night.

On the 3rd of April 1788 having been informed that the above cabin boy (William Williams) had spoken in the most insolent and unwarrantable manner of the officers, I went to him I company with the chief mate when both of us asked him 'where he had gained such a competent share of knowledge as to be a judge of the conduct of the officers of the ship, and that we insisted upon knowing what authority he had for branding them with those infamous names which he had often used.' The said Williams, not denying the charge, which we then made we told him 'that he was a scoundrel and that he served flogging.'

Nothing more passed between us at that time, and I left him and went into the steerage. I had not however been there long before Captain Williams came to me and addressed me in these words 'Pray doctor what is the reason you never let my cabin boy alone.' But before I could make any rely tom the above question, except that of saying 'for his impertinence' I received a blow on the right side of my face, accompanied with the most dreadful expression. This blow being after repeated by the captain on my right eye and temporal artery, I was deprived of all sensation and fell down.

On recovering my senses, and looking round me, I found the captain standing on the steerage ladder, I got up as well as I could. He then addressed me in the most opprobrious language, and said 'that he would now go forward, and give that other fellow as much' meaning the chief mate.

Having said these words, he went upon deck. I followed him with an intent to go

forward. On coming upon the quarter deck, he kicked me on my right thigh, struck me with his fist on the back part of my neck, and bid me go forward, making use of certain low expressions at the same time. I accordingly went forward as fast as I could. The slaves who were then upon deck were frightened to see me pass through them in that condition: for my right eye was entirely closed up, and there was a discharge of blood from my mouth and nose.

Having complied with the captains orders, I sat down by the foremast of the vessel; but was not long there before the captain came to me, and, swearing, 'ordered me to go aft and see if I could not find something to do.' I rose up according to his demands, but was no sooner on my legs than he struck me on the left side of my head with his fist, and kicked me in the lower or short ribs, which occasioned a difficulty in breathing. I returned as fast as I could to the steerage but in great pain. I was very ill for about four hours. My gums were much bruised and bathed in blood. Five of my teeth were loose, one of which later came out: my right eye was so swelled that I could not see out of it till the fifth day; my body had several contusions upon it. I had a cut upon the fore part of my head, and the blow on the temporal artery was the means of the most excruciating pain.

While I was going aft, I heard the captain swearing at the chief mate whom he had before threatened, and, on looking round, I saw him striking him with his fist. The chief mate in consequence of the blows fell down on one of the guns, by which he was much hurt in the back. He came to me on the same day. I examined him, as far as my sight would permit. I saw a large contusion on the spine of his back, and the internal part of his right cheek was much cut.

On the 23rd December 1787 George Phillips (the vessel then lying at the island of Bimbe) complained to me of a fever. I gave him, in consequence of his complaint, an emetic. About a quarter of an hour after he had taken it, and before it could have operated at all, the chief mate ordered the above George Phillips to go into the boat and, with the assistance of some others, to fetch wood, that had been cut on the continent, to the watering place that it might lie nearer to the vessel. Phillips replied 'that he had just taken an emetic, and that he had not strength to go' in consequence of which the chief mate beat him and kicked him into the boat.

Upon seeing this, I immediately went to the chief mate and represented to him that the consequences of sending him at that time might be fatal, for that, in the discharge of his duty, he must necessarily be up to his armpits in water, and that it would be very dangerous for him to be in that situation after the medicine which he had just taken. The chief mate replied 'that he did not care or that the duty must be done.' I then went to the captain and made the same representation to him that I had done to the chief mate. But he immediately fell into a laugh and seemed to enjoy the thought that he should be sent in such a situation; and suffered the boat to put off.

When the boat returned, Phillips appeared to be much worse. But even then he had no relaxation from duty. On the other hand he was often beat about, but particularly by the captain who since this transaction, apprehending that he could not move as quickly as before, had prepared an inch rope, about two feet long, on purpose for him. Beaten in this manner, and his fever daily increasing, and his legs and face swelling to an alarming degree, the second mate, Martin O'Bryan, told the captain in my hearing on the 27th December 1787 'that in his opinion George Phillips had not long to live' upon which the captain ordered him to stop his provisions and, as usual, to substitute the rice in their stead.

On the same day viz. the 27th December on which his provisions were thus ordered to be stopped, he was put into my List, to lie by. In the course however of only thirteen hours from this time, that is, at one o'clock on the following morning, I was informed by one of the people that he was dead. I immiediately got up, and hastened to the body. I found him lying with is face upon the deck, near the foremast, and quite cold: for like most of the seamen on board, he had only the deck to lie upon, and no covering. On turning him over, I perceived by the light of the moon, that a mixed substance of blood and water had come out of his mouth. His legs and body were much swelled. But before I could examine him farther, an order came from the captain to have him immediately sewn up. In consequence of this a hammock was taken from James Lancaster, who as then in a violent fever, and who was thereby reduced to the necessity of lying with others on the damp deck, so that I was deprived of the opportunity of examining, or of making any further observation upon the deceased.

Though I have given so many instances of the captain's ill treatment as those that have been specified above, there is yet one that I cannot easily omit. The captain while the vessel was lying at Bimbe desired his son a Boy, about twelve years old, to fetch him a quart bottle and a quart pot, which he was accustomed to use in measuring out the brandy for trade. The son gave them accordingly to the father. It happened however that the bottle had then some brandy in it and was nearly abot three parts full. The father, not perceiving it, took the pot (by which the brandy was first taken out of the bucket) and by means of it was filling the bottle. The bottle, as I observed before, being nearly three parts full, soon ran over, by which a small quantity of it was lost. Immediately upon this the captain threw the bottle with all the violence in his power at the head of his own son. It very fortunately missed him. Had it struck his head, it must have fractured the skull and cut it into many pieces. Finding that he had missed his aim, he then threw at him the pot before mentioned which, striking him on the back, was dashed to pieces. The crime which the captain alledged against him on this occasion was that 'he had not informed him that the bottle was nearly three parts full.'

It is almost impossible for a person to describe, in its proper colours, the treatment which the crew of the *Ruby* experienced at the hands of the captain. There was not a man on board that escaped his fury, and there never was (I believe) a more orderly or decent crew. His behaviour, on the preceding voyage, was of the same complexion. I say this from having sailed with him before, when his vessel was called the *Little Pearle*; though I cannot say that he behaved to me on the former so ill as on the latter voyage. Before this I was on the *Alexander* Captain MacTaggart from the same port and in the same trade, where I saw as many if not kore instances of wanton barbarity than in the *Ruby* or *Little Pearle*. In short I hve been three voyages to the coast of Africa for slaves. And I do declare that no tongue is able faithfully to describe (as far as I have seen) the barbarity of the captains and the sufferings of the seamen in that trade: all which circumstances have so operated upon me as to have deterred me from entering upon a fourth voyage.

The preceding paper marked with the letter (A) was produced and shewn to James Arnold and is the same mentioned in his affidavit (which follows) sworn this fifth day of September 1788 before me.

Edward Montagu

Examined with the original of which this is a true copy by Thomas Clarkson.

James Arnold of the city of Bristol surgeon maketh oath and saith that the several matters and things mentioned and contained in the preceding paper marked with the letter (A) are true according to the best of this deponent's knowledge recollection and belief.

James Arnold sworn at the public office in Symonds Inn this fifth day of September 1788 before Edward Montagu

[138] The National Archives, Kew, BT 6/11, Account of a Voyage to the Coast of Africa by James Arnold delivered to the committee the 24th March 1789

In August 1786 I entered as surgeon on board the *Little Pearl*, afterwards called the *Ruby*, of Bristol, Joseph Williams master, and in a few days afterwards sailed on a voyage to the coast of Africa and arrived at the island of Bimbe in the month of September in the same year.

In relating facts from this period I shall pass over the common occurrences of the trade and the general method of treating the slaves when on board the vessel, as they are minutely described in my account of the voyage in the year 1787-8.

John Smith, the chief mate of the *Ruby*, was accustomed to beat the men slaves with the greatest severity for the slightest faults. The instrument of his severity was a cat of nine tails, with which he scarcely ever failed to beat them in such a manner as to make them bleed. About eleven at night on the 1st November 1786 the same John Smith hearing some noise among the men slaves, went down with a lanthorn to quiet them. The slaves who had so often experienced his barbarity, thinking that he was come down to flog them again, wrested the lanthorn out of his hand and seized him with an intention to kill him. It was with great difficulty that he extricatd himself from their hold. Getting however to the gratings (the ladder of which is always removed at night), he was dragged by the crew upon deck, happy in his escape as he had hitherto received but a small wound in the back from a shackle bolt. The men slaves disappointed in revenging themselves upon Smith, who they afterwards declared was the sole object of their resentment, and finding that they had created an alarm, immediately proceeded to extremities and attempted to force up the gratings, which were withy great difficulty kept down and secured. Unable to accomplish their design, they pulled down a partition that had been put up but a few days before for a sick berth in the fore part of the men's room. This they did with a view of getting upon deck through a small scuttle which served as an entrance into that birth. The quarrel now came to be serious and an insurrection was considered to have been formally declared. The captain to quell the tumult which had evidently taken place, fired among the slaves through the gratings. He ordered also some seamen armed with muskets and blunderbusses to go into the boat and to fire among them through the air ports in the bows of the vessel at the same time. A constant firing having been kept up for a considerable time by the captain on the one hand, and the seamen on the other, the insurgents yielded and quietness was restored.

At daylight the next morning the slaves were suffered to come upon deck a couple at a time. Care however was taken to secure the first couple by pinioning their arms behind them with cords before a second was admitted. One man however whose partner had forced off his irons came up by himself. Having placed those who had been brought upon deck, some seamen were ordered forward to search the men's room for three that were missing. These they afterwards found, and they had forced

up the fore scuttle of the hold though secured by an iron bar and padlock.

Among some articles of trade which the smallness of the vessel obliged us to place in the men's rooms was a cask of knives which the slaves had seen opened in the course of trade. From this cask the three who were out of irons and who were now found had armed themselves. But on the seamen's entering the men's room, they retired through the scuttle into the hold. By the persuasion of a black trader then on board one of the surrendered himself quietly. The second was coming up with a knife in each of his hands when one of the crew thinking he was advancing to attack him, fired at him and killed him on the spot. With this last slave it appeared that the third had entered into what they call sangaree (an oath to stick by each other, and made by sucking a few drops of one another's blood). He resolutely told the black trader that he would sooner die than surrender himself. He remained in the hold about eight hours, though severely scalded with a mixture of boiling water and fat, which was repeatedly thrown down upon him, nor did he even upon this leave the hold till the black trader found means to persuade him that the whites would do him no injury if he came up, but would most certainly destroy him if he continued below. Upon this promise he appeared to be more reconciled and the black trader perceiving it, let down a rope, by which he might raise himself to the deck. Coming however as far as the lower deck and seeing one of the crew armed there, as he supposed to receive him, he attempted to return to the hold, but the seaman seized him and a scuffle ensued in which the pistol of the latter went off but without damage. The seaman then struck the slave upon the head with his pistol, which deprived him of his senses and brought him down. Being afterwards brought upon deck I was ordered to examine his wounds. I found his skull fractured in consequence of the blow he had received. His body was wounded also in many places by the cutlasses of the seamen who had followed him into the hold and pricked him as opportunity offered while he was skulking among the casks. A great part of his skin was additionally peeled off by the scalding fat and water mentioned before to have been thrown upon him the blood was dropping from his wounds so that on the whole he was one of the most miserable objects I ever saw in my life, and I have seen many during the late war.

While I was inspecting this miserable man the captain came forward, and seeing it impossible that he could recover, ordered the mate to put an iron collar round his neck and to chain him to the foremast, ordering me at the same time to give him no medical assistance, and forbidding all who heard him at their peril to give him any sustenance whatever. The poor wretch deprived thus of chrirurgical assistance and the usual support of life survived but three days and in a state of almost continual stupefaction expired in his chains. He was afterwards thrown overboard in sight of all the slaves.

But to return to the interval immediately succeeding the insurrection. The captain and officers having inspected the fetters of the slaves they were brought from the quarter deck to the main deck where they were unpinioned and immediately secured in the usual way by a chain passed through the ring bolts. When they were thus all of them secured and together, the head of him who was shot and the second that was prevailed upon to come upon deck as before mentioned was then cut off. This head was successively handed to the slaves, who were obliged to kiss the lips of it. Some who refused to comply with the brutal ceremony were most unmercifully flogged by the captain and had the bloody part of it rubbed against their faces.

During the firing of the captain and seamen as before described, the slaves had crowded hemselves into one corner, so that only one boy about fifteen years of age

was materially injured. The thigh bone of this boy was shattered to peces; but as he was young and vigorous his life might have been easily saved by amputating the limb. The captain however foreseeing that a boy so mutilated would be of little or no value on his arrival at the place of sail, would not suffer me to perform the operation but sending me off as a centinel over the slaves on the quarter deck, orderd him to be thrown overboard alive, and with bricks to be tied either to his neck or heels to sink him. That the boy was thrown overboard alive I am certain, first because he asked me but a minute or two before for water and appeatred in good spirits secondly because I have often heard the captain boast of the transaction and thirdly because I have since seen the person at Bristol who threw him overboard and he informed me the boy was living at the time.

On our arrival at the island of St Vincent in the West Indies we sold our whole cargo except a boy about ten years of age who was so weak and emaciated that he was not, as the captain did not wish to have it reported that his cargo was sickly. Whenever he came on board he enquired for the boy of the mate, who always him he was dying very fast, for it was against the mate's interest that he should be sold in that sickly condition, as in such a case the low price he would fetch would diminish the average price of the cargo, and consequently the emolument of the mate.The boy was therefore not only neglected and left on board without sustenance, but the mate frequently begged of me as a favour that I would either dispatch the boy by poison, or consent to have him thrown overboard with both of which propositions I positively refused to comply. At one time they had gone so far as to tie bricks to his feet to drown him, but these upon my remonstrances were taken off. The boy however having been locked up in the men's room languished for nine days without any sustenance except what I and the second mate gave him privately through the gratings when he died.

Having mentioned everything that I recollect as worthy to be relatd under the term of slaves, I shall proceed next to the seamen of the vessel.

These were scarcely treated with less cruelty than the former. Soon after our arrival at the island of Bimbe a bunch of keys including those for the locks of the gratings which secured the slaves was missing. The people who were then on board were charged with havin stolen them, with a view to sell them to the natives who make use of such pieces of metal by way of ornaments. Upon this the captain ordered all the men's chests to be brought upo deck including those of four men who were on shore wooding, and who could not have been privy to the supposed theft. After having forced open and searched the chests, but without finding the keys, the captain ordered them to be broken to pieces and given to the cook for firewood. In the evening the wooders came on board and finding their chests demolished and their cloaths and other articles scattered about the decks, came to the cabin door and told the captain that they were exceedingly sorry if they had dne anything to offend him, but before they could say anything more he in conjunction with his two mates who were sitting at supper with him ran out knocked the four men down and beat and kicked them in the most shocking manner and then put two or three of them in irons.

In this affray the knuckles of both the captain's hands (which he sed indifferently) were used in such a manner as to be covered with blood. He immediately sent for me to dress them, telling me he had wounded his hands in closing the daylights and knocking out the head rails of a set of scoundrels. His meaning was that he had been closing their eyes and knocking out their teeth; and during the voyages his knuckles were frequently under my care on similar occasions.

The following morning on inspecting the men, who had suffered from the cruelty of the captain, I found several large contusions on different parts of their bodies. Their faces in particular were much bruised. Two of them had each an eye closed up, and one of them had lost a tooth, all the four were for some time under my care.

But the brutal usage just described was not the only punishment the seamen suffered; the captain construed the behaviour of the four men whom he had so beaten into mutiny. Upon this pretence he reduced the whole allowance of the whole crew to 3 lb of bread per week each man and ¾ lb of salt beef or pork per day, but the latter so very bad that when boiled it shrank to five ounces and a half, nor did the men get the proper use of the former, for as they lodged upon deck and had no chests tro preserve it from the rain, it was often totally dissolved in a short time after it had been served out to them, which was generally on Sunday morning. While we lay upon the coast I have known the seamen for some days on this account without anything to support nature except their scanty allowance of salted meat, though there were then on board great quantities of bread, flour, rice, yams and plantains. The captains barbarous disposition appeared to be the only cause why the seamen suffered famine in the midst of plenty. This short allowance which was thus once begun continued until our arrival in the West Indies.

On the evening of the 1st of November when the noise of the slaves which was followed by the insurrection before mentioned was first heard, the captain on coming out of the cabin charged a man who stood by the companion of having been asleep. The man happened to deny the fact, upon which the captain returned immediately to the cabin and brought out a cat of nine tails. He beat him with the butt end of this till he left him insensible on the deck. The poor fellow lay there in this situation during the greater part of the time the tumult prevailed. This by his furious behaviour on this occasion we were deprivd of the assistance of one of our best men at a critical juncture when we were all of us in danger of our lives.

It would be tedious to enumerate the many instances of barbarity wantonly exercised on the seamen by the captain and mates but I cannot omit the treatment of a poor black Portuguese sailor who shipped himself at Bristol as cook of the vessel though no language can convey anything like a proper or adequate idea of his sufferings.

This unhappy man was the common butt on which the captain and mates daily exercised their cruelty. The former indeed appeared to enjoy a particular pleasure in flogging and tormenting him. Among other instances of wanton and unnecessary barbarity he often amused himself by making the man swallow cockroaches alive on pain of being most severely flogged, and having beef brine rubbed into his wounds. This last severe and humiliating alternative the man sometimes preferred to the swallowing the nauseous vermin, and when this was the case I have been under the necessity of applying poultices afterwards given him to prevent a mortification. For the greater part of our stay upon the coast this man was fastened by the neck to the coppers (or caboose) with a chain of such a length as to permit him to draw water at te shipside. In this situation he remained upon deck night and day exposed to the weather and was compelled to dress victuals not only for the crew, but for all the slaves without any assistance whatever. The body of this poor wretch, from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet, was covered with scars and lacerations, intersecting each other in all directions, so that he was a most miserable object to behold.

On the second day after our arrival in St Vincent the mate ordered the men aloft

to hand the sails, which had been loosed to dry. This they positively refused to do til they received some refreshment. They had been in a starving condition for about three days: though as they observed there was plenty of provisions on board and if there had been not, a supply might easily have been gotten from the merchants to whom the vessel was consigned. The captain hearing of this behaviour of the seamen, carried the whole crew before a magistrate, who advised them to return to their duty on board, adding that he was sure the captain would take care that they should have a plentiful supply of provisions. This advice they instantly complied with and accompanied the captain on board; where they had no sooner come than he ordered them aloft to hand the sails. This they refused to do with the same firmness as before, saying they could not work without victuals. In consequence of this, the captain went on shore and returned with warrants and a constable whom he ordered to apprehend three of the best men.

In company with the captain he carried them on shore and committed them to gaol. The remainder of the crew during the captain's absence hailed a vessel which lay at no great distance and begged them to send a boat. With this request the crew of the ship who probably had heard of what had passed on board the *Little Pearl*, immediately complied and in this boat our discontented seamen rowed on shore, forfeiting their wages and leaving part of their cloaths behind, nor have I ever heard what became of them since.

The cooper who was a very hard working man and advanced in years, having shortly after this received his half pay with the rest of the officers, went on shore to buy some necessaries and returned on board in the evening, rather overcome with liquor. He was immediately seized by the captain and mate, both of whom beat him so very unmercifully that he lay almost in a state of insensibility on the bare deck for *twelve* or fourteen hours. The next morning I found several large contusions on his head. One of his eyes was intirely closed and violently inflamed, his mouth was much cut and swelled, and he had lost a quantity of blood which I saw upon the deck.

After this nothing material occurred until we were about to sail when the three men who were imprisoned were brought on board by the captain. Finding that their wages had been expended by the captain in paying their gaol fees &c, two of them remonstrated with him on the subject on which he immediately knocked them down, kicked them and beat them most cruelly and confined *all* the three in the men's room. The boatswain enraged at this piece of injustice and being a little in liquor, could not help speaking of it in terms which the latter so much disliked that he treated him worse if possible than the other two seamen: he was dragged in a state of insensibility to the fore gratings and he was thrown down headlong into the room where the three seamen were confined and where they all remained till the vessel got out to sea. They were then allowed out and performed their duty till we arrived at Bristol.

I have since been informed by the three seamen who were imprisoned that the balance of their wages for the whole voyage when paid them in England did not exceed five shillings each.

Mr Arnold was asked the following question.

Has no prosecution been commenced against Captain Williams?

By no other person on board the vessel but myself; he used me personally ill, in the manner stated in the account of my voyage. 1787-8 a suit was commenced in the court of Admiralty, but from the delay and expence, I thought it better to remove it to

the court of King's Bench[770] where I hope it will be tried next term.

What number of sailors had you on board in each voyage?

Nineteen in each voyage, landsmen and seamen including officers and boys.

What number died in each voyage?

One in the first voyage and four in the second.

Of what disorders did they die?

Of fevers.

What number of slaves had you in each ship?

In the *Pearl* one hundred and one, and in the *Ruby* one hundred and four.

How many died in each of these voyages?

Eight in the *Pearl* including the boy that was starved, and exclusive of the two men and a boy that were killed. In the *Ruby* eight died.

Of what diseases did they die?

Of dysenteries, fevers and dropsies.[771]

Were these diseases contracted on board, or did they bring them with them?

All were contracted on board.

Had they proper nourishment and other medical assistance?

They had not wine, or other articles necessary for cordials, which though allowed by the merchant were refused by the captain; I am informed these articles are not refused by captains in other vessels.

[139] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Francis Grant, Trelawny, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 10 April 1789, James Rogers Papers

I must confess it was rather an agreeable surprise to me to receive a consignment of Negroes unsolicited & unconditionally from a house to which I had not the honour of being known or even recommended so far as I am informed.

Your schooner *Daniel* arrived at Martha Brae about the beginning of March with 117 slaves from Old Callabar & in consequence of the captain's orders for you to come to my address I accordingly sold the latter cargo on the 20th of the month. I have to regret they happened to be a bad parcel otherways. I should have had the pleasure of rendering you very different sales from those I am now to enclose. The grown people were too old & the young too small; but Captain Martin having apparently been carefull of them during the voyage they looked pretty healthy which enabled me to put off the refuse at prices much beyond what I have ever known for such from that country. Only for this & my selecting as priviledge more than double the usual proportion I should have made a very low average. After all I am sorry to find it is not what I could wish, although considered wonderfully high by those who saw the Negroes.

Seeing by your instructions to Captain Martin that you would have no objection to receive rum in part payment of the net proceeds I determined with his consent to load the vessel with that article, & having taken measures to procure it of stronger proof than it is generally made for sale in this country, I trust it will turn out at least a serving remittance. For the balance of the net proceeds I send you my own

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770 A branch of the High Court dealing with common law civil claims.

771 These were major causes of mortality for slaves and crew on slaving voyages. Richard H. Steckel and Richard A. Jensen, 'New Evidence on the Causes of Slave and Crew Mortality in the Atlantic Slave Trade,' *JEcH*, 46, no. 1 (1986), pp. 58-62.

bills on Robert Cooper Lee Esquire[772] payable at 12 & 24 months which are better terms than the cargo was worth. But the amount being inconsiderable & the average of the sale rather under what I should have wished, I chose to put up with some inconvenience to myself & smaller profits than are customary in order to make it the more advantageous to you.

The master of the *Daniel* seems to think your ship the *Jupiter* is also intended to come down here to my address & that she may be soon expected. Should it be the case while there is a brisk demand for Negroes & it happens to be a good cargo, I shall have no objection to sell that one, but after this letter comes to hand I must beg of you not to send me more consignments in this manner, for although a mark of confidence extremely flattering, & I consider it a very high compliment, it might nevertheless turn out unpleasantly for both of us, and it is by no means my intention to go extensively into that business.

[140] Bristol Archives, SMV 7/2/1/15, Lowbridge Bright to Jeremiah Osborn,[773] 25 April 1789, Papers on the African slave trade, Bundle G, Society of Merchant Venturers records[774]

Mr James Rogers has promis'd me that he will have the petitions from the African merchants and from the ship holders, wholesale traders &c. delivered at your office by 11 o'clock tomorrow. That from the West India merchants and planters I will leave with you about the same time.

As the gentlemen have signed their names so very close that the number does not appear so great as it really is, I think there will be no impropriety in your stating in the letter accompanying the petitions that so many gentlemen have signed each (specifying the number) and add that as the time for signing has been so short & the signature been confined slely to those who are materially concern'd, the great number and consequence of the individuals who have given a sanction thereto, independent of the seals of *the two great public bodies* cannot fail to show how large a part of the people of property and consequence in this city are *enemies* to the propos'd total *abolition* of the *slave trade*; and approve of the very liberal manner in which the opposition to their measure has been carried on. If you concur in opinion, you will please to notice it in your letter in such manner as you think proper.

Lowbridge Bright

I think it very proper. William Miles. Change the term *slaves* and put soldiers & sailors. It can't fail to end the dispute.

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772 A guarantor for bills of exchange on slave sales. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, pp. 137, 167, 174, 195.

773 He was the Hall clerk of the SMV between 1786 and 1798. Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port*, p. xvi.

774 In 1789 the SMV organised a group of Bristol's African and West Indian merchants to advocate the anti-abolitionist cause. This was part of a national campaign to support the continuation of the slave trade. A list of those merchants present at a meeting held ten days before this letter was written is printed in Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, p. 148. A petition from the SMV to the House of Commons on the African slave trade, one of six petitions presented on this matter, including those referred to in this letter, is printed in Minchinton, ed., *Politics and the Port*, pp. 165-6.

[141] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Africa, to James Rogers, Bristol, 30 April 1789, James Rogers Papers

This will be brought to Barbados by your schooner *Fly* wich I have put forty five Negroes on board. I ordered her to proceed with all dispatch to Jamaica and there to deliver his cargo to Messrs Thomas & William Salmon. From thence he is to return immediately for Sierra Leone or the Bananoes where he will find letters from me for his further government. I make no doubt but I shall have full thirty slaves for her at Bance Island besides what will be at other different places.

I am just closing up the last of my purchases with Bance Island and that to my satisfaction. I don't suppose I shall be off the coast till the further end of August or some time in September, when I shall call at Barbadoes in my way. Times are very bad on the coast & many Liverpool ships will make very bad voyages.

I hope by the time you have had favourable news from Old Callabar. I have nothing particular to add.

P. S. If Charles Trenchard's wife is died you will stop his monthly pay.

[142] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Africa, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 May 1789, James Rogers Papers

I just met this opportunity of writing two or three lines. I have finished my purchase and it amounts to upwards of 260 Negroes. I should have sent off the *Fly* before but could not get slaves [illegible]. She sailed from this place April the 29 with 45 Negroes and as we have considerable more slaves than both vessels can carry, I have ordered her back to me again, & as soon as she returns I will dispatch her immediately with her full number for Jamaica again. She returns in ballast.

I really believe I shall not be off the coast before September or October as Mr Cleveland has got a set of engagements on his hands before it comes to my turn but as long as we get paid by September & no mortality we must make a grate voyage. The reason of the schooner's returning in ballast is that I do not approve of his conduct. You will stop Brace his monthly pay as he is [illegible] & I suppose I must turn him on shore before I leave the coast.

The *Cleveland* has arrived some time since, wich I received your letter dated March 3rd. The *Brothers* Captain Deane is not arrived yet.[775] I am very happy to find the ship is to sell at Jamaica.

[143] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Africa, to James Rogers, Bristol, 20 June 1789, James Rogers Papers

I have just received your letter by the *Brothers* where I am happy to find that that disagreeable business is settled between Randolph and me on so easy terms which makes me very happy. I do with the greatest gratitude and sincere thanks thank you for your attention & well wishes to my family and I hope will always be acknowledged by exerting myself for your interest and making the most of the property you have intrusted me with. Its with the greatest pleasure that I do inform you that I hope to

775 The *Brothers*, Thomas Deane master, Samuel Biggs owner, was involved in a voyage from Bristol to Africa and back, returning to Bristol on 24 Apr. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 148.

carry on a trade which will put several thousands a year in your pocket. I have made a barter with James Cleveland for sixty Negroes and William Cleveland for twenty five the goods to be sent here from Europe so as to arrive here in November, or earlier if possible. Mr James Cleveland has assured me 2/4 of his whole trade which will be something capital William Cleveland fifty or more besides the barters I hope to make with Bence Island, Isle Delos & other places. The abstracts must be paid a great attention to on account of the prices. The vessel you purchase for this business must be just tonnage anuff to carry rum and tobacco a very cheap vessel that may go to sea for three hundred pounds, or thereabouts, and when I return to Bristol I shall want another vessel so as to have one going off every three months and another arriving here the same and a little copperd vessel for myself as I shall stay on the coast till all my barters is finished & at that time push strongly for ivory. I shall not be off the coast before the latter end of September so as to avoid the hurricane in Jamaica. The schooner if she returns will come off a few days before me. I dare say we shall bring off upwards of 250 Negroes. The ship is in most excellent order & will be able to go to sea next voyage for a trifling expence. She sails exceeding fast but is a very tender vessel. The master of the vessel you send out must have no commissions as all the business must be done by myself and those gentlemen must be under my direction. I shall be happy to hold the same part in those as in the *Ruby* & *Fly* & I make no dout but this present voyage will turn out much to your interest as barring accidents I hope to clear well towards three thousand pounds.

Those indents is closed one for James Cleveland & one for William Cleveland. Wish the prices of many articles is overcharged considerable more to us than the Liverpool vessels. What it's owing to I can't pretend to assist but I do believe its because we don't cut them up as the Liverpool merchant does. The price of French guns is 10s. 6d. Buckaneer 11 s. cutlasses 1s. 6d. tower guns 9s. 5d. India sattin stripes 33s. 6d. chintz patterns 11s. French stripes 5s. 4d. cushtaes 7s. 10d. photaes 7s. 4d. Britannia handkerchiefs 19s. cherriderries 7s. 4d. plains 9½d. silver rings 1s. 6d per dozen manillas 1s. 4d. aggets @ 10d. cassis with bottles @ 2s. 8d. Kilmanny cops 8d. barley corn beads 3½ common beads 8d. p lb cargo hats 9s. 6d. per dozen. If you will please to examine my invoice this voyage & see the difference in the prices only in those articles they do lay their cargoes in 25 per cent cheaper than what we do. The prices of all articles must for the future be sent to those people as the Liverpool men can undoubtedly outsell us otherwise. Kettles that I have in this abstract by the help of a friend got at 70 large kettles weight 653 lb with bales &c at 11¼ per lb. The cases are @ 14d. each the bottles black & [illegible] amount to 2½d. each. I have only to add that I believe the tradesmen are a set of rascals & unworthy of employment.

Send out the same quantity of provisions as you did in the *Fly* & one punction of cut sugar. What provision Mr Cleveland's wants the master of the vessel will let them have & go to Bence Island & let Captain Boat have what he want @ 145 or 150 barrs per head payable in three months.

[144] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Thomas & William Salmon & Co., Black River, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 26 June 1789, James Rogers Papers

On the 16 instant arrived the *Fly* from Sierra Leone with forty-five Windward Coast slaves: the cargo was healthy and delivered in tolerable good order, but a worse

choice we do not remember to have seen; the slaves in general were either aged or very small; not six prime people, free from blemish, could be picked out of the whole number. Yesterday we sold thirty five of them which averaged about forty four pounds sterling, but what remain, we fear, will greatly reduce it. We received a letter from Captain Thomas Walker acquainting us that the *Fly* was immediately to return to the coast and that he he expected to be here in September: the *Fly* is preparing to sail but she is in want of sails ropes and provisions with which we have agreed to furnish Captain James Walker and there will be nothing on our friends wanting to give him the utmost dispatch.

The *Ruby* will arrive at an unseasonable time of the year, and if Captain Walker brings a cargo of 170 slaves no better than those he purchased for the *Fly*, it will not be in our power to dispose of them on any terms: no man of credit will buy such, and it is not practicable in this place to dispose of a large number of refuse Negroes.[776] As soon as the sales are closed we shall forward them with our bills of exchange for the neat proceeds, which we have agreed to draw at twelve, twenty and twenty seven months sight; terms not so favourable for us as those upon which we sold a much superior cargo by the *James*, and better we believe than we shall be able to offer the *Ruby* if we sell her slaves.

[145] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Alexandre Lindo,[777] Kingston, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 25 July 1789, James Rogers Papers

I am favour'd with your esteem'd letter of 4th June informing me of your having order'd your ship *Jupiter* Captn Steele to my address. I have to acquaint you she arrived this day an hour after receipt of your said letter with 226 slaves but am sorry to inform you of the death of the captain & first mate; the ship being now under the command of the second mate, I have not had time to inspect the cargo yet, but am very apprehensive it is rather in a sickly state, having lost upwards of one hundred slaves. However you may rest assur'd I will exert myself to render the most satisfactory sales possible; with regard to the terms of payment notwithstanding the unfavourable appearance of the cargo, I will grant you the same as Messrs Rainford, Blundell & Rainford[778] give for the ship *Eliza* now in this harbour to their address. I shall write you more fully by the sailing of the packett that will depart in a fortnight.

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776 Refuse slaves were ill or elderly slaves that could not be sold in a normal sale; they were therefore sold at vendue or auction for low prices after the main part of a slave sale had been concluded.

777 Alexandre Lindo was a slave-selling merchant-factor of Portuguese Sephardic extraction in Kingston. He sold 7,510 slaves in Jamaica between Feb. 1786 and Aug. 1788. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 547; Jackie Ranston, *The Lindo Legacy* (London, 2000), pp. 41-2; Radburn, *Traders in Men*, pp. 208-10; Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, p. 117.

778 Merchants in Kingston. A partnership between Samuel Rainford, Robert Rainford, sr and Jonathan Blundell, jr. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 547 n. 805. A case study of this firms appears in Sheryllynne Haggerty, *Merely for Money? Business Culture in the British Atlantic* (Liverpool, 2012), pp. 181-8.

[146] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas & William Salmon & Co., St Elizabeth, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 29 July 1789, James Rogers Papers

We wrote you the 25 Instant acquaint you with the reasons that prevented our finally closing the sales of the *Fly*s cargo of slaves. We have at last settled the business with Captain James Walker, and herewith you will be pleased to receive account of sales and our bills on John Fisher Weare Esquire[779] vizt

At twelve months sight for £334.12.8
twenty months sight for 470.6.11
twenty seven months sight for 470.6.11
Sterling £1275.6.6

Amounting to one thousand two hundred and seventy five pounds six shillings and six pence sterling, agreeably with our engagement with Captain Walker, which with his order for one hundred and ninety pounds currency, advanced him to refit the schooner for the coast, is in full for the neat proceeds, one thousand nine hundred and seventy five pounds nine shillings and one penny currency, and which we hope will upon examination be found to be right.

In a former letter we advised you of the miserable choice made in the purchase of those slaves, which would scarcely have sold, but for the apprehension which for some time has possessed mens minds of a total abolition of the slave trade: however if Captain Thomas Walker should bring such a cargo in the *Ruby* it will not be practicable for us to sell them on any terms.

Although we have drawn the bills for this cargo at a longer time than than a cargo we sold some months before, it is still to our disadvantage, as we had the liberty of landing that vessel

coast, as it is the wish of Captain Thomas Walker that she should return, and we understand he will be able to procure a cargo of slaves for her upon her arrival, which we hope will repair all the extra expenses of her outfit.

We shall be happy to find that the sales prove satisfactory.

[147] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Francis Grant, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 4 August 1789, James Rogers Papers

By the pacquet which conveys this letter to you I have been favoured with yours of the 4th June by which I am happy to see the safe arrival of the *Daniel* and your satisfaction with the sale I made of her cargo as well as the remittances I made you on that account. I have however to regret at the same time your not choosing to let the *Jupiter* come to my address as there is a prodigious demand for Negroes just now in this part of the country. I congratulate you nevertheless on her arrival in Kingston which I see by the newspapers. At least there is one of that name just come there from the coast of Africa & I dare say you will have good sales.

Although in general small cargoes of Negroes are more plague than profit to the

779 A Bristol merchant (d. 24 Jan. 1816), sheriff 1777, 1784, declined mayoralty 1794, warden SMV 1778. Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, p. 128.

consigner and are never so tempting as a large cargo is for inviting the better sort of purchasers, I shall undertake the sale of whatever number the *Daniel* brings, as you tell me she is sent to the Gold Coast and intended for me, but I should be glad of a larger cargo from the same country also say for 350 to 400 good Negroes to arrive here in March or April & to load home with produce on your account the cost of which to be deducted from the net proceeds of the slave sale & the balance to be remitted you in bills payable by reasonable instalments. I am sure of good sales for the above number even if a dozen ships were to come in meantime provided the people are healthy & not to have too large a proportion of old or young among them. If you possibly cannot send me such a cargo from the Gold Coast let me have one of the best of your Ebo[780] cargoes remembering I would prefer the former if to be had consistent with your plan. I have only further to request a speedy answer to this proposal & so explicit as to admit of no doubt as if I made made certain of this consignment I shall be looking out for good purchasers before the ship arrives which is at all times essential to a good sale.

[148] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Alexandre Lindo, Kingston, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 26 August 1789, James Rogers Papers

Since I had the pleasure of addressing you the 9th Instant I have completed the sales of your cargo of slaves per Ship *Jupiter* Captain Henry Laroche neat proceeds whereof as per account 38912.10.3 carried to your credit in account current annexed making an average of £37/2 same being charged with £474.14.3 amount of account of disbursements leaves a balance in your favour of 38437.16 paid off by my 15 setts of bills inclosed drawn at 18 24 & 30 months sight on Lindo Aguilar & Diaz London amounting as at foot to 35740 sterling which with £287 commission on remittance is £6027 sterling equal to the above sum of 38437 16 currency balance of your said account. I likewise beg leave to inclose you my draft at 6 months sight in your favour on said Messrs Lindo Aguilar & Dias for £427 5.6 sterling amount of privilege and commission due the captain of your said ship *Jupiter* as no doubt you will be better able to settle the same than I could. Permit me to remark that the cargo being so indifferent I was obliged to grant very long terms to the purchasers in order to render the sales as favourable as possible and I am convinced you will be satisfied with the average.

Captain Laroche informs me there were two Negroes on board which were not purchased with the cargo. I have included them in an account sales with 3 others belonging to him & settle for I make no doubt he will explain the matter to your satisfaction.

780 i.e. Igbo slaves.

[149] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, William Rawlinson, Manchester, to Richard Fydell & Co., Chepstow, 30 September 1789, James Rogers Papers

On my return home I find your order for the ship *Pearl*[781] which my servants are pushing forward to accomplish in your time which you observe you will take the discount which will be accepted as before on same ship in 1787. I find you have omitted specifying the kind of chelloes and also photaes. The former they are making *all cotton* & the photaes *mixed* which are the sorts now going for the coast & therefore presume are what is intended. However should you incline to have a few of them tearing[782] or all cotton you will please advise.

The bill on Rogers & Co. is passed to your credit for amount of goods supplied *Juba* & *Commerce* in October and therefore shall not say more on that subject than adding that in future I cannot allow to your place more than to my other friends & no houses being served on better or lower terms than yours it cannot be desired you will present my compliments to Mr Rogers and acquaint him that I am sorry to find on my return that the *Crescent*'s goods were not all come in from the weavers in time for the last Spring tides which I had no doubt of when I left home. The remainder were ready to be sent the ensuing Spring but no letter coming in answer to Will Johnson's of 16th Instant they were not ventured to be sent.

[150] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Francis Grant, Trelawny, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, via Thomas Papps, Kingston, 10 October 1789, James Rogers Papers

Your letter of the 2nd July came to hand only the 28th ultimo; had it been sent by the pacquet I should have got it much sooner; that I think is always the speediest & best conveyance for letters & I myself prefer it constantly on this account.

I observe you have given directions for a little schooner to be sent to my address with fish from Newfoundland & for another schooner smaller still to come to me with Negroes from the Gold Coast. In both consignments I shall do the best I can for you, but I really dislike those very small cargoes of Negroes for reasons which I have already communicated to you in my letter of the 4th August & therefore I must have no more such except the two you have lately sent me notice of viz the *Daniel* & *Fly*; but still it is my wish to have the larger cargo requested by the letter above referred to; and my plan is so far changed since then as induces me now to prefer an Eboe cargo to a Gold Coast one; Those that come from Bonny are the sort most run upon among us & I hope it will suit you to let me have such a cargo on the terms proposed.

In regard to your intended consignment of salt fish I must tell you that being no merchant myself I cannot consistently charge myself with selling it, but I will put it into hands that will do you justice & it may be in my power greatly to assist them off with it. Should it however arrive at market a month sooner than the period you mention, it would be in favour of the sales – for you must know that about Christmas

781 The *Pearl*, John Wilding master later replaced by William Blake and by Samuel Stribling, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 16 Jan. 1790, purchased 472 slaves at Old Calabar, sold 354/356/368 at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 2 July 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 172. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18078 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell.

782 i.e. ripping or tearing apart to leave jagged edges.

is the greatest demand, & consequently a number of such cargoes sometimes are poured in upon us from a dependence on that demand which seldom fails to overstock the market.

I shall also endeavour to get the *Swallow* sold for you, yet it is proper at the same time to mention it as my opinion that I hardly expect to succeed either in procuring so great a price that you put upon her.

[151] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Captain Thomas Walker, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 24 November 1789, James Rogers Papers

It is with pleasure I have to inform you of my safe arrival at Kingston where I have called on Alexandre Lindo Esquire but has not struck with him yet as he is going to see the cargo tomorrow & I believe it will fetch £40 or £42. Had I arrived six weeks sooner I should make a very great average. Here is ships lying here to the amount of 17 hundred Negroes for sale but they will sell all before me. We hope our cargo being small will sell very well. I have on board 150 or 152 Negroes on ships account, 17 on freight. I have buried 5 slaves. I came off short of the coast owing to the badness of weather & my people being very ill. Thirteen of the Negroes on freight is consigned to you.

The 12 October we had an insurrection on board. We thank God we are not loose one slave. They almost kil'd me & had barely got possession of the arm chest. There was a great many wounded. They soon was put in confusion. The first that I [illegible] also my people that was well in the ship & a lot of scoundrels they are. I don't expect to sail before 12 January. I will put all the butter & beef in her as I can get. The cockroaches have almost ruined me. They have eat all my provisions in the ground [illegible] so that they are all out & when I came I had but two puncheons in the vessel.

The bills are very longwinded here. Those ships that are selling their bills is 18, 24 & 30 but my bills will be as same as the *Fly*'s & I cannot get them less. I am very unwell myself & scarce a man well in the ship but the doctor & chief mate. If Mr Lindo will assure me £40 to £42. I shall go no farther as the vessel & myself is not fit & for want of people. But I shall be surprised if they fetch from £40 to £44. Slaves left on the coast to paid to any vessel in the concern when called for.

Bence Island 24 & 67 bars
Isle de Los 1 & 55 ditto
James Cleveland 20
William Cleveland 11

56

per cent by an order on Bence Island in favour Captain King of Bristol for 260 lbs of assorted ivory.

I have orders & abstracts for near 200 Negroes which I will send you a coppy of as soon as I can coppy it. This vessel that brings this sails as I come in so that you [damaged].

Please to give my love to my wife & children & I hope with the blessing of God to be soon with them. I am totally released & was ill for two months before I left the coast but am getting better.

[152] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, William Rawlinson, Manchester, to Richard Fydell & Co., Chepstow, 25 November 1789, James Rogers Papers

When I wrote Messrs James Rogers & Co. with bill of the additional for the ship *Daniel* I mentioned the difficulty in getting quick forward and with your goods for the *Pearl* since which I have not had the pleasure of a line from either house. I do trust your vessel is in no haste for I should be sorry she was detained a moment for my goods, and on the apprehension of which I offered to have bought all cotton photaes at discount which is only what I have been allowed, but did not find them ready made. The manufacturer is not partial to take an order from another although he has full price (as it is not obtaining a regular customer). With this you have contents of 16 bales already sent for *Pearl* & should be glad I could fix with precision whom the remainder photaes could be forwarded but have near one hundred weavers left to weave nankeens for which some houses have such large orders that they will give double wages to what my trade can afford. This is very unpleasant to me who had laid in every material for the completion of your order and paid money down for the same & having considerable payments shortly to make was very desirous of early completing your order that I might find the benefit of the discount agreed on in the near approaching payments I have to make.

You will please to hand Mr S. Rawlinsons enclosed letter to Messrs. James Rogers & Co. Waiting to hear from you.

[153] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 December 1789, James Rogers Papers

Its with pleasure I have to inform you that my cargo is in perfect health, but I am fearful. In my letter wrote you at my first arivel that I was too sanguine in my expectations towards the average of this cargo as the vast quantity of negroes coming to this market [illegible] already glutted the markets. My sale comes on tomorrow.

I wrote those gentlemen according to your request & have found their answers. I think it most to your interest to put the cargo in Alexandre Lindo's hands but had I not come in her I think we should have done better at either of the other places, but as I was here it was not worthwhile to risk the cargo to go to either of the other places myself being very ill ever since I have been in and it has been with the greatest exertion for me to do the duty of my vessel & no people or any person to assist before I delivered the cargo up to Mr Lindo. I bound him to run to £41 pounds sterling for 145 of them my bills to be drawn at 12, 18 & 24 sight in equal proportions. This is the best bargin I have been able to make which I hope will meet your approbation, as I would wish it possible to do more justice to my employers than myself. If there is any over plush it is mine as that was my bargin with him so that we are certain of £41 sterling per 145 negroes & a chance for something more. Salmons bills was 12, 21 & 30 months sight. If I had went to him I don't suppose I shuld be able to sail from hence before the 15 of January & I am afraid without any freight.

The *Fly* saild from Black River[783] 29 July & was not arrived the 6 of October which was the day I sailed. I hope you have made insurance on her as the man is not to be much trusted. I should suppose she must be here in a month if safe as Roper will

783 The main town in St Elizabeth parish, southwest Jamaica.

purchase his way. I hope the *Fly* arrives safe. She will make a good average at Black River & I shall be able to pay you for my part in the *Cresent* & if you should think fit to send the *Jupiter* to Bonny I should be very happy to hould a portion in her & make no doubt of making you a voyage to your satisfaction as a good sober man will do very well to put in the *Ruby* such a one as I have got in my eye.

I have got abstracts for near 250 negroes on board now. I am informed the *Pearl* & *Jupiter* has made bad voyages wch I am very sorry for, but if I can take the liberty to speak its no more than I expected, as I am certain the master was not fit for the task. The *Fly* will not be able to bring off all the property. Captain Roper must be very sure in his slaves, for the least defect in the world would they object to.

Walker

Disbursements is very extravagant at Black River more than I expect mine will come to. I am obliged to buy new lower rigging & new top sails & a sale of running rigging besides provisions for three months.

[154] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 25 December 1789, James Rogers Papers

Its with pleasure that I have to inform you that my cargo is all sould except ten negroes and I venture to say we shall average £43 sterling for 150 Negroes bills drawn in equal proportions at 12, 18 & 24 sight which is the best bargin I have been enabled to make. There has bin slaves sold & to sell since I arrived here to the amount of thirty seven hundred & nothing but pictures of slaves will sell. The slaves of Mr Cleveland is to be sold at vendue as there is no purchaser otherways. The prices of slaves must undotedly [i.e. undoubtedly] fall & that very considerably. I shall sail the 10 January. I have had no person to do the least thing since I have been in & myself very sickly. Brace I have turn'd on shore & Roach has bin on shore ever since the ship arrived a little sickly & the doctor is as worthless a fellow as ever existed. My people all on board a man of war except 2 or 3 boys. I have bin perfectly bless'd with a sett of rogues.

I think we shall bring home clear of cargo oufitt & every expence attending the voyage inset included £1150 sterling clear into your pocket besides the *Fly*'s cargo that is coming & what more that's left behind so if she comes safe I hope you will clear about £2750 sterling.

I do most anxiously wish to be home as I must get out to put off Roper as my stay in Bristol must be very short. That we may push the trade with speed. I sent you an abstract by the schooner that Mr Llewellin came of in for James & William Cleveland which I hope is come safe to your hands & the goods sent out by Roper for those gentlemen as when I do come home if it should please you I think to enlarge the trade so as to have ships out & off in rotation that will make them stay short on the coast & keep up the trade by supplying our friends. You will stop all monthly money. I hope you insured the *Fly* as he is mot a man to be trusted to. His disbursements is now £180 sterling & coming from Barbadoes here he was drunck every day. Took Hispaniola for Jamaica & was bating up & down for near 8 days his boat hoisted out and his self going on shore tiill he spoke a French vessel which tould him where he was & he was in the same condition from the coast as long as he has had a drop of liquor on board. He never obey'd one single order of mine while on the coast but acted quite opposite. It was a [illegible] my life out to see the condition his vessel

was in on the coast dirt filth & as great a [illegible] as ever seen. I shall write Messrs Salmons not to let him have no more money than what they think really necessary as his disbursements will be as much if not more than the *Ruby*s. If Captain Grimes is at home he was mate of the *Diana* as I am inform'd he is & out of employ if you can drop a word to him & see if he woud go to Guinea he woud answer our ends & we will do something for him as he is a clever fellow. Brace was drunck 24 days out of 26 whilst on board till I turnd him on shore. You will please to make £100 insurance for her for my commission. I have more particular to add.

The *Fly* was not arriv'd the 6 October but she may be safe as it's a very long passage & he a very unactive fellow.

If you think propper to insure 6 or 8 hundred pounds on *Ruby* or as you please.

[155] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Alexandre Lindo, Kingston, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 27 December 1789, James Rogers Papers

On the 26 November your ship *Ruby* Captain Thomas Walker arrived here with a cargo of 152 slaves and applied to me according to your directions agreeable to which he likewise wrote to your friends Messrs Salmons at Black River and Mr Grant in Trelawny. The terms I offerd him being as good as those proposed by said Gentlemen he put the cargo into my hands on my agreeing to ensure an average of £41 sterling for 147 slaves and to grant bills at 12, 18 7 24 months sight.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you I have disposed of 142 slaves and notwithstanding the many disadvantages from the daily subsequent arrival of Guinea ships am in hopes of being so fortunate as to make an average of £43 sterling for the whole, which I trust will meet your entire approbation. I shall dispatch the *Ruby* as shortly as possible, but am sorry have not been able to procure her a freight.

[156] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Liverpool, to James Rogers, Bristol, 28 December 1789, James Rogers Papers

By the way of Liverpool I embrace this opportunity, being the first since the sailing of the packett, which I wrote you the particulars relating to the voyage. We shall average I hope about £43 sterling for 150 negroes bills drawn at 12 18 & 24 months. I hope to sail the 10 January without any freight. I sent you an abstract fro the coast in the schooner that Mr Llewelin came off in who has four negroes on board the *Ruby* & sold on an average of the cargo which abstract I hope has come safe to hand & forwarded by the *Crescent*.[784] For James & William Cleveland I have abstracts on board for 250 negroes at customary prices. There is now for sale at this time 1700 negroes in six ships for different parts. The *Ruby* must be dispatched when home with all dispatch possible. I hope you have made insurance on the *Fly* as the master is not to be trusted. You will please to make £100 insurance on the *Fly*'s cargo for my commissions. If you think it necessary to insure £6 to 8 hundred on [the] *Ruby* as the time of year is bad.

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784 The *Crescent*, William Roper master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 4 Oct. 1789, acquired 270 slaves at Iles de Los/Bananoes, sold 263 at Martha Brae, and returned to Bristol on 12 Oct. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 150; voyage ID 18040 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[157] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, William Roper, Iles de Los,[785] to James Rogers, Bristol, 29 December 1789, James Rogers Papers

I take this opportunity of writing by Captain Holman of the schooner *Bess* of Bristol. I made Cape Sierra Leone the twenty third day of November after a very severe passage. My success since my arrival is as great as I could expect as there is fourteen sail of English French and American and vessels here. Slaves at this time is very dear & here is Captain Hudson of the *Martha* of Liverpool who has been much in opposition to us,[786] but what with advantage of goods and advancing a little we have got the better. Our barters become due before his and Captain Morley and our barters since our arrival is thus. Mr James Cleveland for prime slaves at seventeen pounds per head one hundred and thirty four slaves. Mr William Cleveland twenty four Mr Ormond[787] twenty at one hundred and fifty barrs Mr Walker at the Rio Pongoes twenty one at one hundred and fifty Mr Ansell at the Iles de Los eleven slaves at one hundred and fifty Mr Horrocks agents at the Iles de Los thirty-four at one hundred and fifty five barrs all due in April. This all my barters so far and in eight or ten days I expect to compleat my slave purchase afterwards. I mean to go down to the Grain Coast[788] and there lay in my provisions as it cannot on this coast be procured.

I am sorry to inform you that I lost my carpenter overboard the eighth day of November. Since I arriv'd here I have enjoyed my health very well. My officers are all very well and have given me satisfaction equal to my expectations. There is two of my people that has been ill but is now recovering and you may depend upon my leaving the coast the twentieth of May so I conclude myself.

P. S. I am sorry to inform you that my beads are all charged eighty per cent dearer than any ships either from Liverpool or London and I am afraid I shall be oblidged to bring some part home again for the people that I deal with. Invoice price objects allowing me more than other vessels render theirs at.

I cannot say anything concerning a cargo for another voyage as yet.

[158] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, William Woodville, Jr,[789] Liverpool, to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 January 1790, James Rogers Papers

I arrived here 28th instant just as Mr Caton was closing his letter to you of that date informing you of the permit for the brandy being missing & requesting you to procure another since which time he has received a letter from you & also the ship's register.

I wrote to you from Manchester acquainting you of the necessity I was under

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785 Small offshore islands in Sierra Leone.

786 The *Martha*, Thomas Hudson master, Ralph Fisher, John and Patrick Kewley owners, left Liverpool on 7 Sept. 1789, embarked 216 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 200 imputed slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 24 Dec. 1790.Voyage ID 82491 in www.slavevoyages.org.

787 John Ormond (d. 1791), an extensive slave trader at Rio Pongo, who was originally from Liverpool. Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-1808' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, p. 37.

788 A coastal region of West Africa between Cape Mesurado and Cape Palmas, incorporating the present republic of Liberia.

789 William Woodville junior (b. 1763) was trained in the slave trade by his father William Woodville (b. 1744) of Liverpool. Stephen D. Behrendt, 'Human Capital in the British Slave Trade' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 87, 97 n.91.

of drawing upon you in favour of Mr William Rawlinson for one thousand pounds at three months otherwise I could not have had a piece of goods for those which I did get on the credit terms were spared to me only on the condition I could make up my quantity with them. Mr S. Taylor seemed to [illegible] in the idea of your being disappointed & Mr Rawlinson was obliged to pay money to those persons from whom he got them & then they would only promise to keep them till one o'clock that day vizt 27th instant in consequence of which I concluded it most advisable to act in the manner I did as to wait for goods being made would have been a detention of six weeks or more and all the remainder of the cargo being ready it would have been a great loss – very probably have injured the sales in the West Indies.

Mr Caton ordered me to write to Messrs Ludlam Parry & Son for three hundred India romalls in addition to the original abstract & I wrote by his orders to Mr Rawlinson requesting him to keep two hundred of the romalls ordered from him & that you would send them in one of your Old Calabar ships. This he did on account of the India romalls being so low & Mr Boates[790] sending his ships to oppose us as he always sends very heavy cargoes.

Mr Jones[791] of your place has bought a ship called the *Albion*.[792] I think she carries about three hundred slaves.

In looking over former letters of orders I find the emoluments expressed as follows:

Your priviledge is to be 2 per cent on the groce sales & your chief mate & your surgeon[793] each two average slaves & your second mate one average slave free of cost & after the priviledge is deducted then your coast commissions will be 4 per 104 on the sales.

There will be a sale of rice the next week. I believe the price at present asked is 17/. Stock fish at present is £25 or 26 per ton.

My father to whom I mention'd the affair of selling slaves in St Domingo will write you by this post.

[159] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Campbell, Baillie & Co., Grenada, to James Rogers, 11 January 1790, James Rogers Papers

Our Mr Thomas Campbell having this day resigned his share in our African house, in favour of Mr Duncan Campbell, who has long been connected with us in business, we take the earliest opportunity of informing you thereof, and that all future business

790 I.e. William Boates: see document no. 72.

791 i.e. James Jones: see documents nos. 122, 125.

792 The *Albion*, John Robinson Wade master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 14 Apr. 1790, embarked 262 slaves at Gallinhas, Iles de Los and Cape Mount, disembarked 250 slaves at St Vincent, and returned to Bristol on 14 Aug. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 160; voyage ID 18060 in www.slavevoyages.org.

793 After Dolben's Act was passed in 1788, slave ships were obliged to carry surgeons, who had to be medically qualified. However, as the documents in this volume show, most Bristol slaving voyages included a surgeon before that date. Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, p. 284.

will be carried on under the firm of James Baillie junior & Co.[794]

We beg you to accept our thanks for the confidence you have placed in us, and to solicit a continuance of it to the succeeding firm, whose utmost exertions will be employed to serve you.

Campbell Baillie & Co.[795]

[160] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, John Kennedy, Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 27 January 1790, James Rogers Papers

I am happy to inform you of my safe arrival this day in the Schooner *Flora*[796] in 26 days from Sera Lion[797] with 73 slaves buried two have four on board. Much reduced with the flux but am in hopes of getting them round again as I have got some refreshments for them here. Waited on Messrs Lithcot & Maxwell for my orders but if the sales is not agreeable to my instructions shall immediately proceed to Jamaica. Left Captain Walker in perfect health forty leagues west from the Bananos. Captain Williams in the *Fame*[798] is well which will be the next ship of which will be in all March or the beginning of April as soon as my cargo is sould. Shall make all possible dispatch back to the Bananos in ballast.

P. S. The Packet[799] arrivd this day but no letter for me or Captain Walker. I have forwarded your letters per this Packet.

[161] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, Capt. John Goodrich,[800] Cameroon River, to James Rogers, Bristol, 4 February 1790, James Rogers Papers

I wrote by Captain Prosser 14th December last which I trust has come safe to hand before this. Our passage out was twelve weeks to this place which was occasioned by contrary weather & contrary winds. I have done but little this month past by reason

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794 A merchant-planter partnership connected with Hermitage estate, Grenada. James Baillie, junior, was a Scots-born slave trading factor who also owned land in St Vincent. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 493; Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, p. 105; Douglas Hamilton, 'Local Connections, Global Ambitions: Creating a Transoceanic Network in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Empire,' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23, no. 2 (2011), pp. 286-7, 294.

795 A note at the end of this notice refers to the partners as James Baillie, Edmund Thornton and Duncan Campbell.

796 The *Flora*, Thomas Walker and later John Kennedy, masters, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 27 June 1790, purchased 75 slaves at the Bananoes, sold 72/73 at Montego Bay, and returned to Bristol on 23 May 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 167. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18070 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche, Richard Fydell and Thomas Walker.

797 i.e. Sierra Leone.

798 The *Fame*, James Williams master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 7 Nov. 1790, purchased 153/154 slaves at the Bananoes, sold 152 at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 17 Oct. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 166. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18069 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche, Richard Fydell and Thomas Walker.

799 i.e. the mail packet ship.

800 The *Sarah*, John Goodrich master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol on 21 Sept. 1789, acquired 222/256 slaves at Bembia and the Cameroon River, sold 141/142/143 at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 Nov. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 157; voyage ID 18054 in www.slavevoyages.org.

of the ships *Maria* and *Beatrice*[801] being almost slaved when I arrived and of course gave greater prices than what was prudent for me to do as a new ship.

However though the *Maria* is done her purchase, by which I have wrote you, the *Beatrice* is expected to sail in a few days and then I shall have a very good opening having no other ship to oppose me but the *Christopher* Howard of Liverpool. I have only ten slaves on board most of which being brought me by the *Nimble* from Cameroons. The cowreys from Liverpool is come safe to hand and I trust I will go on briskly with trade but have had some trouble to bring the prices of slaves down as there have been great prices given by the above mentioned ships.

I hope I shall be able to compleat my full number of slaves by the latter end of June but find great alterations since here last in prices of slaves.

I have taken the liberty to draw upon you for £67 £24 of which is a bill of six months the other £43 a bill of 3 months a bill for 3 months it being for articles of trade which I found would tend much to the advantage of my purchase. I hope you will not fail sending out salt by the first opportunity as I am well assorted in every other article but that and have the greatest expectations of making a good voyage. All is well on board and am happy to say that I have a set of good officers and crew except that of the doctor who I find to be a man too fond of liquor to expect any good of him. He is in fact as great a villain as possible I could have got out of the kingdom as I believe him to be a spy for some of the pettifogging lawyers and committee.[802] However shall make him do his duty towards attending the slaves and trust in God to give you and my employers every satisfaction respecting my conduct throughout the voyage. There being only one ship at Old Callabar which is almost slaved will leave a fine opportunity for the *Pearl* which expect will be there to embrace it shortly and so I expect it to be the next vessel after this that leaves Cameroons. I hope the next accounts from me will be from the West Indies and be assured every exertion will be made use of to gain dispatch.

[162] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, John Goodrich, Cameroon River, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 11 March 1790, James Rogers Papers

My letters of December last and January I make no doubt but has come to hand before this. I have got 60 slaves on board and do expect to have a brisk trade here as being only two ships of us here. The [illegible] of Liverpool the *Beatrice* will sail in two days from Bembia. The *Gypsey* by which this comes being a tender to the *Viper* and has been paying high prices. In short when I arrived I found 3 ships almost full slaved which give such prices that I lay by but now will have it in my power to make a finish in all June.

We are all well in health only buried one slave as yet although mortality is raging and has been more in the river than ever was known here. As the *Viper* has buried upwards of 100 slaves within the stay of 8 months I hope it may not be our case as be assured every care and attention will be paid.

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801 The *Beatrice*, Thomas Harold master, John Bridge Aspinall, James Aspinall, William Moss, John Howard, Jr, Thomas Hayhurst, William Kendall, Robert Richardson owners, left Liverpool on 12 Mar. 1789, embarked 155 imputed slaves at Bimbia, disembarked 142 imputed slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 11 Oct. 1790. Voyage ID 80444 in www.slavevoyages.org.

802 This comment possibly reflects a suspicion of doctors giving damaging evidence to a parliamentary committee.

We have no accounts of the *Pearl* as yet. Wish her out much as a fine opening offers at present but fear she will be late as several ships is expected. I have bought about 300 lbs ivory. Might have bought as many tons but cannot spare salts. I expect my full number of slaves and find my cargoe to answer well.

[163] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Francis Grant, Trelawny, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 15 March 1790, James Rogers Papers

I have had a short letter from you of the 23rd November since the date of my last, notifying the alteration you had thot. Proper to make in the destination of your ship *Jupiter* & the purchase of the *Rodney*[803] to go in her room to Bonny

There is a rumour in circulation here that the *Fly* was lost on the Martyres[804] in her Passage through the Gulph of Florida. I am inclined to believe it as she is not arrived nor any other account of her.

There are ships pouring in almost daily from the Coast of Africa. It is imagined the price of Negroes must be down shortly in consequence of the great importation & the number still expected. There have been six cargoes disposed of at Montego Bay & Lucea within the three last months. Still I am not afraid of making good sales for you come when they will, only I run the greater risque myself of making bad debts because most of the better sort of purchasers must probably be supplied before any of your ships arrive. I am hopefull however of seeing one of them soon; according to accounts received by a ship lately come to Montego Bay from Cape Mount the *Crescent* was nearly ready to sail when she did.

I have at last got the *Swallow* sold for you & I expect a bill of exchange in may for the purchase money which is £450 sterling.

The net proceeds of the cargoe she brought from Newfoundland will be sent you in produce by one of your own Guineamen which will be a saving of freight.

[164] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, William Rawlinson, Manchester, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 2 April 1790

Agreeable to what was mentioned the 26 ultimo I waited on two houses here with your orders. Messrs Robinsons & Heywood have undertook to supply half of the *Jupiter*s Cargo & they wrote you yesterday relative it. They will also send off next week the Mark IC for the *Ruby*. The other half for *Jupiter* was given to Richard Powell esquire but he durst not engage to do it in the time. However he thanks you for the remembrance for I told him it was your desire that he shared the order with me and on my saying that the *Jupiter* was intended for the Gold Coast he thought you had better have India goods for the half which he esteems more proper than Manchester & begd I woud give his compliments with this remark.

I shall forward Captain Walkers goods next week. Should you not incline to

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803 The *Rodney*, William Woodville, Jr master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Liverpool on 6 Mar. 1790, acquired slaves at Bonny, sold 298/300 slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 Nov. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 174. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 83366 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel sold the slaves at Montego Bay.

804 i.e. The islands now known as the Florida Keys. The explorer Juan Ponce de Leon had called them Los Martires in 1513. Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea: The Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500-1685* (College Station, TX, 1985), p. 42.

adopt Mr Powells idea I can manage (if you allow the time Messrs Robinsons & Heywood have required) to make up the quantity with tearing & all cotton goods & you will please let me hear from you by return and at same time should esteem your acquainting me if you thought it would be perfectly agreeable to the owners of the *Jupiter* to discount for what the goods they may incline to have from me for to be open. I find myself at present so very poor on account of the large sums I have paid my brother since his relinquishing the Africa concern that it has caused such a diminution of capital that to use an old phrase I am only enabled to have half the number of eggs in the same baskett as formerly and therefore where discounting is equally agreeable as credit for the present it suits me better.

[165] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, William Blake, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 8 April 1790, James Rogers Papers

This is my first opportunity by the ship *Will* Captain Hughs[805] to acquaint you of our arrival at Callabar on 27 March all well – after a passage of 9 weeks 2 days. Our delay on account of going to the Isle of St Jago[806] was 12 or 14 days. Have had since sailing from that place a very tedious and calm time. The *Daniel* Martin arrived on the 20 ultimo February all well. We delivered the guns received the salt and wine. On 21 we saild for Callabar. Suppose the *Daniel* to sail the next day for the Isle of Bannanas. The *Will* Captain Hughs which is the only ship laying here besides ourselves sails tomorrow for the West Indies with a boat 2 hundred slaves or more which I believe is her compliment. Captain Hughs sent off his own ship and stayd in his late tender.

We have at this time thirty four slaves would wish the *Daniel* Martin to sell to Windward on account of her quick despatch to return to Callabar again. The *Sarah* Goodrich is at this time at the Cameroons slaving. I dispatched a schooner that I borrowed from the Duke of this place with salt but she proved to be leaky, which obliged her to return back again. The *Neptune* is all to pieces for want of repair. Am informed by a captain at the Cameroons who is the only ship laying there with Goodrich that he has between 1 and 2 hundred slaves on board. Suppose by this time he has near 2 hundred.

[166] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Martin, Bissau,[807] to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 10 April 1790, James Rogers Papers

I take the opportunity of writing to you by Captain Harleys tender *Delaore*, who propose leaving the coast in a few days. I arriv'd at the Bannanas on the 7th of last month where I met with the *Crescent* all well. I delivered the goods to Captain Roper consigned to him & also the goods to the two Mr Clevelands. There has been a grate mistake about the *Britania* handkerchiefs as there was none on board for either of them. They must be either remaining in the store or put on board the *Pearl* by

805 The *Will*, Thomas Johnston master replaced by Joseph Hughes, John Gregson, James Gregson, William Gregson, William Gregson jr, James Aspinall, George Case, Edward Wilson, Andrew Black, William Begg, owners, left Liverpool on 21 Oct. 1789, embarked 229 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 210 imputed in Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 18 Aug. 1790. Voyage ID 84021. www.slavevoyages.org

806 The largest island in the Cape Verde archipelago.

807 Located on the Geba river estuary, West Africa.

mistake. There is also an error in the powder for Mr James Cleveland. His invoice expresses 50 barrells of powder & 600 kegs fil'd with 13 of ditto & the bill of lading says six hundred kegs & 27 barrells, which was the number on board and deliver'd to him. The chintz & sattin stripes for James Cleveland received a little damage on the passage by the badness of the weather which Mr Cleveland insisted on selling by auction to ascertain the damage, otherwise his engagement with Walker would be laid aside. I offerd to take any that were damag'd, but that would not satisfy him therefore with the advice of Captain Roper I consented to it. The sattin stripes I bought at 29/ & let Mr Cleveland have 22 pieces at 34/ the other eight pieces (damag'd) I have kept. The chintz Mr J. Cleveland bought at 29/ per piece. He finds grait fault with the guns, both to the price & fashion; in fact, he seems to take an advantage of the obligation to deliver him the goods. I realy think it a grait risk to trust much property in their hands as there is neihther law nor principall to bind them to their agreements, or to compel them to [illegible] & their lives are very precarious which if anything were to happen all's lost.

I am but just arriv'd on this part of the coast where there is great opposition & slaves very scarce & paying extravagant prices.

I wrote you the 12th last month by a schooner belonging to Antigua, which I hope has come to hand. I inform'd you of my meeting with the *Pearl* at St Jagoes, all well. We exchang'd goods & proceeded according to orders. Captain Roper has every prospect of making a good voyage. He told me he would leave the coast in the middle of May with 270 slaves & 3 or 4 tns of ivory. I had an account of the *Sarah*'s touching here with her little *Nimble* all well. I shall write you by the first opportunity, when I hope to give a satisfactory accout of my proceedings, until then remain gentlemen your most obedient servant. Officers & crew all well.

[167] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, John Robin, Liverpool, to James Rogers, Bristol, 13 April 1790, James Rogers Papers

Captain J. R. Wade in a letter which I received from him some days ago, mentioned your wanting a surgeon for a Windward Coast tender; and desired me to enquire if there was any unengaged here. I should have answered his letter sooner, but hearing of one or two surgeons looking out for employ, some time was taken up in finding out & obtaining a final answer from them.

We are short of surgeons here & those upon the spot and unengaged are trying for the larger vessels where two slaves priviledge is given, and are almost certain to be engaged; so that I have good reason to believe there is not one to be had in this [city] for your purpose. Indeed I know that several surgeons have been fetched from London, and that application is seen none making for a ship fitting out in this port.

I should have been extremely happy if any enquiries had been more successful, and hope that the scarcity of surgeons at Bristol, having been more generally known, you will be able to accommodate yourself at home.

[168] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Francis Grant, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 8 June 1790, James Rogers Papers

My friend Alexander Macleod Esquire of Spanish Town having intimated to me a design of going into the 'Guinea' business. I have requested he would permit me

to introduce him to your house. It is for this purpose I do myself the pleasure of addressing you at present. Should he propose a connection of this sort with you, I can from long experience and a most intimate acquaintance take upon me to say you may place the utmost reliance on his honour and punctuality. I believe that like myself he has objections to giving a guarantee, but none to deal with you on the same terms I do. For further particulars I refer to what he writes you himself.

[169] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Baillie, Bannatyne & Co.,[808] St Vincent, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 17 June 1790, James Rogers Papers

We duly received your favour by Captain Welsh in the *Exeter* who stayed here a day or two to land the articles he had in for this island and then proceeded to Grenada. During his stay here we gave him every assistance in our power. He has drawn a small bill in our favour for his disbursements amounting to £17 12s. 8d. which we send by this opportunity to our friend Mr Evan Baillie, and which we hope will meet due honour.

We are sorry that none of your Guineamen have lately called upon us, as the demand for slaves in this island has been very great. The last cargo we sold the *Chambers* Captain Hurd from Bonny with 335 slaves averaged £41 6s. 7d. sterling. At present we are not anxious to sell ny more until the month of October but we expect that from that time until the month of June following the demand will be very considerable.

[170] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Alexander MacLeod,[809] Spanish Town, to James Rogers, Bristol, 28 June 1790, James Rogers Papers

I beg leave to inclose you my friend Mr Francis Grant's letter to you in my favour. It is by no means at present my intention to enter generally into the Guinea line. My wish goes no further than to have just a sufficient number annually as will supply the wants of estates under my management: one cargo of about 300 to 400 slaves would be sufficient to answer this end. But I would wish them of the very best, that is Gold Coast, and the primest: I don't mind the price. Such a cargo to come in to Old Harbour[810] about the beginning of next June would suit me well.

With respect to the terms. I wish to do the business on the same terms as my friend Mr Grant[811] has always done with you. I have an objection to a guarantee and wish to have it in my option to load the ship at once with sugar and rum, charging you with the first cost or market price, and deducting the amount from the nett proceeds of the cargo, and to draw afterwards by such instalments on London as may be agreed on between the captain and myself, if you impower him, if not I will consent to send them at the same periods that Mr Grant has usually sent them to you.

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808 George Baillie (1746-1811) was a slave factor and member of this partnership from 1784 onwards. Douglas Hamilton, 'Local Connections, Global Ambitions: Creating a Transoceanuic Network in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Empire,' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23, no. 2 (2011), p. 289.

809 A slave factor for at least four voyages to Jamaica between 1789 and 1793. 'Alexander MacLeod' (https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643815).

810 Situated in St Catherine parish, southern Jamaica.

811 i.e. Francis Grant.

Should this be agreeable to you, I request you will give me very early intimation of the ships name, the number of slaves and the time she may be expected. I would not wish her arrival to be later than the first week in June.

[171] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, John Kennedy, Bananas Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 29 July 1790, James Rogers Papers

I am happy to inform you of my safe arrival with the *Jenny* scooner the 18th Instant. Despatchd her up the River Sherbro to Matrow[812] to Mr James Cleveland; have been in the river this five months the boat is not yet returned so that I cannot inform you the particulars when I shall leave the coast. Theres a large French ship lying here which Mr Cleveland have made a large barter with which will be the means of my being longer on the coast than expected. She have been on this eight months expects to go off soon. I learn by Captain Mason that came all up the coast that the slave trade was very dull. Mr William Cleveland informs me that the trade is very dull in the river we are now in the midst of the rains which is very heavy at preasant have delivered the most part of the consinements here when completed shall proceed to Bence Island. Shall write you the particulars per first opportunity. The ships company are all healthy at present.

[172] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Martin, Bissau, to James Rogers, Bristol, 9 September 1790, James Rogers Papers

I take the opportunity of writing to you by the *Little Joe* Captain Jones[813] of Liverpool who intends to sail in a few days for the West Indies but am concern'd it's not in my power to send you a more favourable account of my success, since I wrote you by Captain Delatoe. Since then I have been persecuted with continual disappointments & loss in my cargo being particularly assorted for the crew trade. After proceeding to Cape Palmas & purchasing a little rice I returnd to the crews snow *Ballow* &c where through the many palavers occasiond by the French ships stopping & carrying off several of the natives in a manner stop'd all trade excepting what little was done by the craft in shore & they paying such extravagant prices that it was impossible to stand at: they were paying 22 guns 11 long & 11 short pieces cloth 4 kettles 4 pans a chest of tobacco & every other article in proportion on a slave. From there I proceeded to Bassoo Bay[814] where I had the sore misfortune of loosing my pinnis[815] with a slaves goods in her but luckily no lives were lost. The natives detained the goods masts sails &c and would have massacred all the white men (Mr McLauren & 3 others) were it not for my trade & his countrymen that were in the boat. My only prospect then was to endeavour to purchase a boat or proceed to Cape Mountserado,[816] hearing there was an opening there at the present. Failing of getting a boat I proceeded to the Cape

812 Now Mattru or Matru.

813 The *Little Joe*, Richard Jones master, Joseph Ward, Robert Ward, Ralph Fisher, Plato Denny, Joseph Caton, Thomas Rigmaiden owners, left Liverpool on 31 Dec. 1789, embarked 159 imputed slaves at Bassa, disembarked 146 imputed slaves at Black River, Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 16 Feb. 1791. Voyage ID 82289 in www.slavevoyages.org

814 i.e. Bissau Bay, now in Guinea-Bissau.

815 i.e. pinnace.

816 Cape Mesurado, a headland on the Liberian coast.

where I found matters as I was informd there being only the *Mary* Captain Boxanell of Lancaster lying there endeavouring to get pawns redeem'd & collect in debts. But to his mortification he saw the natives selling me slaves & he could not get in a single debt.

Unluckily at that time an American ship arrived who had a boat stopd in the river he is in conjunction with. Captain Boxanell sent these boats ashore at night to endeavour to take King Peter, but failing of that they set fire to the town & made a retreat. Very ingeniously they see me send my yawl ashore the next morning without acquainting of the matter. As soon as she got into the river she was surrounded by the natives & my mate & the rest of the crew taken prisoner & narrowly escap'd the fury of the enragd natives. They were detaind together with other boats that were in the river for 14 days until the two ships left the place when my people were let on board, but not before exacting a quantity of brandy & tobacco.

I still continued there making trade until another misfortune befell me. I borrowd a pinnace (from a Captain Hornby) to bring off some firewood. I put Mr Biggs (the only officer I had then well) & five of my people in her and the kings son for a pilot but through obstinacy & I am informd liquor (which he was unhaply infatuated to) he run the boat on the barr where she upset in the brakers. He and John Stokes & James Cameron since grownd the rest swam ashore but Isaac Shortman was so badly bit by a shark that he is since dead. I then went to Cape Mount which place I was oblig'd to leave on account of palavers, all boats & trade being stop'd. I thought to have gon to the Isles of Delos or the Bananas to dispose of the remainder of the cargo, but after a fruitless attempt of 13 days on account of a strong current setting to the southward was obligd to bear away for this place being short of wood & water. There are lying here 3 Liverpool ships 2 Frenchmen & a sloop from the Windward trade here as well as all other ports between the Capes is very dull on account the very bad weather, every day hearing of the loss of boats.

They are paying here 30 rounds besides dashes[817] having procured wood & water. I now proceed for Calabar with only 24 slaves and a small quantity of ivory & the better part of my cargo where I hope things has been prosperous. My people has been very sickly these 4 months every one having their turn excepting the doctor boatswain carpenter & cooper. The 2nd mate is not able to crawl the 3d ditto on the recovery & I hope all the rest of them.

P. S. I suppose you have heard that the natives at the tisjungas[818] has seized on the affects of Mr Alman to the amount of £2000, he narrowly escaping with life.

[173] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, John Kennedy, Isle Bananos, to James Rogers, Bristol, 20 October 1790, James Rogers Papers

I embrace this opportunity & am sorry to acquaint you that I have had a very sickly ship since my arrival on the coast, have had a very severe fever myself. Since my recovery have buried my second mate Peter Stephens September 20th and John Miller seaman the 21st. The people are still sickly & weak.

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817 'Dashes' were gifts sometimes given by captains to local chiefs for permission to trade on the west African coast. They were sometimes fine second-hand clothes. British Library, Add MS 59,777A, Society and Observations of the Trade of the Canary Islands and West Africa, with Observations on the Slave Trade, 1779-c.1784, f. 25r.

818 Unidentified.

Captain Walker is gone down to Leward. His return if successfull intends to send the schooner off. I expect him here in six or seven weeks from this date. As to my part I don't expect to be off this four months. Mr James Cleveland is now on the Island. There is but very little business done in the river when Mr Cleveland is out but is now preparing to go in the river. There is two barters to be paid before it comes to our turn which amounts to about one hundred & seventy or eight slaves.

Captain Morley in the Ship *James*[819] saild from hence on Monday last.

[174] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, Cape Mount, to James Rogers, Bristol, 30 November 1790, James Rogers Papers

This is to inform you of my arrival here the 24th instant. Also of the arrivals of the *Anamaboe Packet* & *Dragon* the 26 instant within four hours of each other all well. I dispatch'd Captain Seasbrick in the *Dragon* with a cargoe for slaves yesterday to windward to Bananas & Sierra Leone. Captain Higgins in the *Anamaboe Packet* shall have a cargoe suitable for Leward & as I purpose sailing to day shall take her some distance with me. There are many ships on this part of the coast. 10 sail at anchor here and several others at Mensurado & Bassau. I have not seen Captain Walker but hear he is well at the Bananas. I have wrote him by Captain Seasbrick giving him every information in my power.

Ship *Jupiter* all well.

[175] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, Baillie, Bannatyne & Co., St Vincent, to James Rogers, Bristol, 5 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

We beg leave to advise of your brig *Daniel* calling in here a few days ago with 189 slaves, but finding your expectation for an average was so very great and considerably more than cou'd be obtained here, we recommended Captain Martin to proceed to Grenada. The *Othello* with 283 slaves from Old Calabar was here at the same time, and we might have taken up her cargo without any limitation whatever but we declined it.[820] As slaves from that part of the coast do not sell here without they are young & healthy: Gold Coast, Windward Coast or Eboe slaves woud sell well here now, and we think the demand is likely to continue provided too many Guineamen don't stop to Windward. We lately sold two Gold Coast cargoes one of

819 The *James*, Matthew Morley master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 8 Oct. 1789, intended to load 176 slaves on the Windward Coast, sailed to Jamaica, returned to Africa and sailed back to Jamaica, arriving with 159 slaves from the Windward Coast. The ship returned to Bristol on 14 May 1791. Richardson, *Bristol, vol.* 4, p. 151. These were actually two slaving voyages. The second voyage began on 26 June 1790 in Jamaica, embarked 176 slaves on the Windward Coast, landed 159 slaves at Lucea. Voyage ID 18278 in www.slavevoyages.org. The first voyage is documented under voyage ID 18042 in www.slavevoyages.org: the ship embarked 359 imputed slaves on the Windward Coast and disembarked 328 imputed slaves in Jamaica.

820 The *Othello*, John Powell master, Thomas Earle, William Earle, Jr, Francis Holland, Joseph Caton, John Smale, Ralph Fisher, William Molyneux, Thomas Jolly owners, left Liverpool on 16 Mar. 1790, embarked 302 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 277 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 16 Feb. 1791. Voyage ID 82979 in www.slavevoyages.org.

them belonging to your port, say the *Active* with 280 slaves[821] which we took up at a limitation of £43 but we were fortunate enough in reaching an average of £47 0s. 8d. The *Jamaica* Captain Sherry is not yet arrived but he is daily looked for.

P. S. The Ship *Jamaica* Captain Sherry is just arrived.

[176] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Seasbrook, Isle Bananas, to James Rogers, Bristol, 12 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

I have the pleasure to inform you of my safe arrival at Cape Mount after a passage of eight weeks. I parted with the *Jupiter* the 7th October in the night in a heavy gale of wind. I arrived at St Jago the 6th November after a tajous pasige [i.e. tedious passage} of contrary wind. On my arrival there I found the *Jupiter* and [damaged] two days I was obliged to stop a few [damaged] for some [torn page]. I then proceeded after the *Jupiter* and arrived at Cape Mount the day after, being the 27th November. The little schooner *Annamaboe Packet* arrived the same day all well. The day after my arrival I received my cargo from Captain Smith & then I proceeded to the northward. In my way I called at the Gallinas but as done very little I arrived here yesterday and found laying near the *Ruby* and *Flora* Captain Walker all well. He hopes to send the *Flora* off in the course of three weeks as Mr Cleveland has gone up Sherbrough for slaves to send him off which makes Captain Walker all [illegible]. When I left Captain Smith he was in good health but very badly off for want of officers as Mr Webber was left behind when I left the *Jupiter*. Captain Smith was purchasing rice. He tould me he would sail for the Gold Coast in two days.

I suppose you will have a letter from Captain Smith as there is a ship to sail from Bassa in the course of a fortnight. I will assure you Mr Rogers I am [illegible] of them Captain Smith for I have two of the drunkenist rascals that ever was on board of a vessel I mean the doctor & mate. I have been obliged to turn the mate before the mast.[822] Thank God I have a good young man second mate which will do for me very well. I am in good hopes I shall get clear of my provisions at Sierra Leone as there is some Frenchman lying there.

I have on board 6 slaves but very dare [i.e. dear] not less than sixteen pawns. I here [i.e. hear] the ships at Bassa is purchasing slaves at fifteen pounds. When I get clear of my provisions I shall proceed to the southward. The *Cape Coast* packet is arrived this three weeks. The *Fame* is not arrived. I have nothing more to had [i.e. add] but to merrit your friendship.

[177] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Martin, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

I take the opportunity of writing to you by Captain Taylor to acquaint you of my arrival here after a passage of six weeks & 4 days from the coast to Barbadoes. I arrivd there the 27th of November with 189 slaves. I waited on the House of Lytcott & Maxwell, expecting to meet with your letters but was astonished at not receiving

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821 The *Active*, Thomas Williams master, John Anderson owner, left Bristol on 8 Oct. 1789, embarked 310 imputed slaves in the Sierra Leone estuary and at the Gold Coast, disembarked 280/284 slaves at St. Vincent, and returned to Bristol on 30 Dec. 1790. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 146; voyage ID 18032 in www.slavevoyages.org.

822 This phrase meant being downgraded to a common seaman.

one. At my inquiry at the Post Office I found one lying there dated June the 2d & 22d advising me of the market prices of negroes at the different islands in consequence of which I made proposals to said gentlemen but they would not take me up on any terms as the partnership was dissolvd. I then proceeded to St Vincent & waited on Messrs George Baillie & Co. They also told me as times were so uncertain that they could not think of taking me up, particularly as being from Old Calabar. At the same time recommended to me to go to Grenada as there were good averages made there latterly. Also informed me that there was a hurricane at Jamaica last August in consequence of which I proceeded here, where I arrived the 1st instant & waited on the House of Messrs Baillie & Co. as the House of Monrow & Co. had just sold one cargo and taken up another. I inform'd them of your expectations but they would not garrantee any price. At the same time assured me they would do as much as any other house here. In that case I thought it advisable to put the cargo into their hands, particularly as hearing of Jamaica suffering by a hurricane last August I am still in hopes of making a midling average considering the state the slaves were in. The sale commenc'd yesterday. There are 125 sold at an average of £37 and upwards & am in hopes the remainder will not go much under.

I wrote you September 9th by the *Little Joe* Captain Jones of Liverpool acquainting you of the many disappointments & misfortunes I met with on the Windward Coast, which I suppose you have receiv'd ere this. On my arrival at Old Calabar, I found Captain Blake more forward in his purchase than I could have expected, but the slaves were in a most miserable condition through a mistaken notion of occonomy in purchasing bad provisions & the neglect and ignorance of Mr Degraves (as I was inform'd) the slaves were in such a state with the flux, yaws & [illegible] that they had but little chance of mending much ere their arrival at market. Myself & all the ships company got the distemper in 7 or 8 days after they came on board that at one time we were scarce able to work the vessel.

I lost 21 slaves on the passage, one on the coast and one since my arrival. I am just now in the most perplexed state imaginable, having most of the crew prest at Barbados & entered on board a frigate here sooner than go back to the coast & the remainder (Mr Whitney excepted) determined not to go. I had advice on the matter but am inform'd I can't compel them. There are no officers or men to be got here in this situation. I am at a loss what to do. I shall take the earliest opportunity of advising you how I succeed. Inclosed is a bill of lading for 388 wt of ivory which I ship'd on board the *Triton*. The old gentleman died the day following. Annex'd you have the names of those of the crew which I lost.

I forwarded you letters from the *Pearl* from Barbadoes which will inform you of their particulars.

Robert Briggs, John Howell, James Camoran, Isaac Stockman dround 29 July

Ger. McLaurenc died 20 September

James Small, Richard Billing, John Kilford, William Edwards prest[823] at Barbados

William Casey, John Fanning, Thomas Griffiths Richard Hunt entered here on board a frigate.

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823 Recruited through a press gang.

[178] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, James Baillie, Jr, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

Captain Martin in your brig *Daniel* arrived here the 1st instant with 189 slaves from Old Calabar.[824] This cargo in general were thin, a number of old people amongst them and we believe you know that negroes from this country are not in esteem in the Windward Islands.

After this representation to Captain Martin he pointed out the risk he was in proceeding further as at that period we were in daily expectation of a war with Spain.[825] Besides this the probable influence this would have in lowering the markets in Jamaica. Thus situated we with reluctance agreed to take up the cargo. Our bills for the neat proceeds are to be at 12, 15, 18 & 21 months sight in equal proportions. We yesterday exposed the slaves for sale & run off 120 at an average of £37 7 3 sterling. The 68 that remain (having buried 1 since his arrival) will reduce the average considerably. They are so low in flesh & so many old people among them that we cannot with precision ascertain their value. Our utmost attention shal be paid for your interest & we hope the general average will not be much under £34 sterling.

The packet arrived the 10th Instant with advice that the convention was to be signed with Spain at Madrid the 27th October.[826] The great preparations that were making for war in this country are all at a stand. Captain Martin is preparing to return from hence to Africa & you may depend on our forwarding his dispatch as much as possible. We shall soon have an opportunity of advising you of our farther progress in the sale of the *Daniel*'s cargo.

[179] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, James Baillie, Jr, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 19 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

With reference to the enclosed copy of our last we have to advise you of our having closed the sale of the *Daniel*'s cargo on the 17th 188 slaves @ the average of £34 1/ sterling. Captain Martin can inform you that a great many of the 68 which remained by our last were very thin & low indeed & on the whole we have done everything in our power to turn out the average to your advantage as possible.

The officers & crew in general having positively refused to go a second trip with Captain Martin & finding it altogether impracticable to procure a new sett here, he has been obliged to determine on going directly to Bristol from this & is preparing his vessel accordingly. We refer you to his own letter by this opportunity & will soon have occasion to write you again with sales & bills for the cargo.

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824 The *Daniel*, Richard Martin master, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Bristol on 15 Jan. 1790, embarked 210 slaves at Senegambia, Sierra Leone and Calabar, disembarked 189 slaves at Grenada and returned to Bristol on 12 Feb. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 163; voyage ID 18066 in www.slavevoyages.org.

825 Refers to the dispute between Britain and Spain over Nootka Sound, which reached its peak in Oct. 1790. The dispute concerned the rights of navigation, trade and diplomacy regrding Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. Howard V. Evans, 'The Nootka Sound controversy in Anglo-French Diplomacy – 1790,' *Journal of Modern History*, 46, no. 4 (1974), pp. 609-40.

826 The Nootka Sound Convention held that the northwest American coast would be open to the traders of Britain and Spain and that captured British ships would be returned and an indemnity paid.

[180] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Richard Martin, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 21 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

I take the opportunity of writing to you by one of his majesty's vessells, which we expect will call & sail from here today to inform you that I intend to sail from here for Bristol on the 3d of January next in ballast. I wrote you the 9th instant by Captain Taylor of the *Pilgrim*[827] that saild from here the 12th acquainting you how disagreeable I was situated respecting my people, some of my people being press'd others enterd, to avoid going back to the coast, & the rest determind not to go. I took every method to endeavour to induce them but all to no purpose. I had advice on the matter but could not compel them. Since then Mr Whitney has declaird his sentiments that he will not proceed the second trip, alledging that his constitution would not bare it. A surgeon & other officers are not to be pressed here & they would not clear me out at the custom house without a surgeon. In that case I had no alternative but returning to Bristol. The sale of the slaves were not cloas'd until the 18th therefore could not obtain the bills to send per this opportunity. We sold 188 at an average of £34 sterling bills at 9 12 18 & 24 months, which is far from your expectations, but considering the state of their health & the general prejudice they have against Old Calabar Cargoes, is a midling average.

Notwithstanding my being so unfortunate this voyage, I hope my conduct will meet with the approbation of my good owners as I can assure them that from the first of the voyage to the present time, I studied their interest as were it my own in hopes of which I remain gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant.

[181] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/9, James Baillie, Jr & Co., Grenada, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 30 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

Herewith you will receive copy of our last respects of 14th instant, and we now beg leave to enclose your sales of the Brig *Daniel*'s cargo of 188 slaves, nett proceeds to the credit of your account £5,610 15s. 9d. sterling. We also forward you're acoount current balanced by our draft on James Baillie Esquire vizt

3 setts at 12 months sight for £500, £500 and £335 18s.is £1,335 18s.
3 setts at 15 months for £500, £500 and £335 18s. is £1,335 18s.
3 setts at 18 months for £500, £500 and £335 18s. is £1,335 18s.
3 setts at 21 months for £500, £500 and £335 18s. is £1,335 18s.
£5,343 12s.

Say five thousand three hundred and forty three pounds 12s. which we trust on examination will be found free from error.

It will also afford us some satisfaction to hear that our endeavors to turn out the average of this cargo to your utmost advantage has met your approbation, & considering the state the cargo was in & the number sold (only one less than Captain Martin brought here) altogether, we think it cannot be considered but a good one.

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827 The *Pilgrim*, Cobb Taylor master, John Anderson, Thomas Deane, Thomas Rigge, James Harvey owners, left Bristol on 28 Apr. 1790, embarked 426 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 390 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 22 Jan. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 173; voyage ID 18079. www.slavevoyages.org

On all occasions when your interest is put into our hands you may depend on our best exertions to serve you.

[182] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, Thomas Walker, Bananas Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 31 December 1790, James Rogers Papers

It is with pleasure I have to inform you of the arrival of your bark *Fame* & the sailing of your schooner *Flora* with seventy five negroes which I shall send her to F[rancis] & R[obert] Smith at Dominica according to your letters received by *Fame*. The *Fame* I do intend to send off next. As her wages is so very high I hope she will be off in all March & I shall send her to Jamaica to Alexander Macleod esquire where I hope he will give her a good freight home. The *Flora* is to return home in ballast. There will a small lot of ivory by *Fame*. If Mr Smith will not assure Captain Kennedy an average from £40 to £45, she is to proceed to St Vincent & if they will not agree to same price she is to proceed to Mr Grant Jamaica. I do assure you I never knew times so bad as at present.

The kettels in *Ruby*s cargo is charged 15 3/ per cwt which is more by 5/ per cwt than Liverpool vessel. The gun maker has charged in *Ruby*s cargo 150 wallnut stock guns at 12/6. There is only 50 of that sort. The other 100 is [illegible] at 9/6. Such impositions is shameful & I must beg you will not pay them any other ways than what I mention here. All the guns that is sent out must have their proper charge & not that long one.

The wages of *Fame* is enough to ruin a voyage & with an addition of the *Little Tom* I make no doubt but we shall do very well.

If C Kennedy cannot agree on an average with F[rancis] & R[obert] Smith he is to proceed to Jamaica & not St Vincent to Francis Grant esquire or Alexander Macleod esquire Old Harbour provided he receives no orders from you to contradict those give him by me.

[183] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, William Blake, Old Calabar, to Alexandre Lindo, Kingston, 11 January 1791, James Rogers Papers

This is my opportunity per ship *Pearl* Captain Samuel Stribling to acquaint you that I stay to wait the *Daniel*s arrival. Am sorry to say the *Pearl* goes off so short of her number of slaves. Its owing to burying so many in the river. I have purchased 939 exclusive what I let Captain Goodrich have. Our doctor & officers cannot account for 20 slaves that I have purchased. Suppose Mr Wilding was very neglectful & Doctor likewise. Doctor is not fit for this trade.

The *Pearl* carries off only 474 slaves. We have buryed 203 & 3 drowned in a mutiny with the men slaves. I have 50 debts in Callabar & some pawns for them. Cannot inform you how many I can get for the *Daniell* yet, but would wish her to be here soon as was impossible to keep the *Pearl* here for I buryed slaves as fast as I got them.

[184] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/11, An Account of slaves during the *Jupiter*'s voyage from January 22nd to October 27th 1791, the time of sailing from Africa and to the closing of the sale in the island Grenada, James Rogers Papers

Date & where 1791	Men & Boys	Boys under 4'4"[828]	Women & Girls	Girls under 4'4"	Number	Reference
Africa Cape Coast	191	32	121	22	366	Whole purchase
April 30	43	1	30	3	77	Shipped off in the *Dragon*
Cape Coast October 8	148	31	91	19	289	Slaves on freight per *Jupiter*
Mortality	7	2	2	1	12	Before sailing from Africa
October 27	141	33	89	24	287	At sailing from Africa
December 23	9	4	3	1	17	Mortality from the coast to the sale
	132	29	86	23	270	At Grenada. Some of the boys on freight.
	0	3	0	6	9	Freight slaves
	132	26	86	17	261	Slaves sold at Grenada

260 slaves sold by Messrs Munro & Co.
1 slave sold by J. S. at vendue being blind, purchased by Mr Higgins
77 slaves shipped off per *Dragon*
28 slaves mortality
366 whole purchase
Freighted per *Jupiter* 10 slaves
1 mortality
Slaves 9 sold by Messrs Munro & Co.

[185] The National Archives, Kew, James Williams, Bance Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 23 January 1791, James Rogers Papers

I wrote you by the *Flora* which sailed the 30th December which I hope to leave the coast in all March for Captain Walker has a very good prospect of sending me off with a very good cargo of slaves and a quantity of ivory how much I cannot say but part I have on board & some slaves which I expect to leave Bence Island in three weeks and proceed to the island Bananas to collect what slaves I can there. Captain Walker is gone down the coast which I do not expect to see him again till I am ready

828 Height specifications were the way in which contemporaries distinguished between adults and adolesecents in the British slave trade. A measurement of 4'4" tall was considered to be an adult. Dolben's Act (1788) permitted ships to take increased numbers of slaves under that height. Audra A. Diptee, 'African Children in the British Slave Trade during the late eighteenth century,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 27, no. 2 (2006), p. 185.

to sail. We have consulted to send the *Fame* off first on the account of wages running so high which if I get a cargo home will be of some help to pay wages. The captain of the *Dragon* schooner[829] will not turn out according to your expectation. He carrys on most of his trade with white women. I believe he thinks very little about his employer. My people remain all in good health which I hope I shall have a successful voyage.

[186] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, William Blake, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 7 February 1791, James Rogers Papers

This my opportunity per Ship *Triton* Captain Garnett to acquaint you that I stay to wait the *Daniel*s arivel. The *Daniel* has certainly detained me for 3 or 4 months. The *Triton* carries off 118 puncheons 13 barrels of palm oil a quantity of redwood and some ivory. Cost ivory more than it will sell for in England. Palm oil has been very scarce and dear and when the *Pearl* was here had not time to attend to it nor any officer to send. Garnett has not behaved well by any means here. Am sorry to say the *Pearl* saild so short of her number of slaves. It was impossible to keep her longer here, we buying so many slaves. Hope he will be more fortunate on the passage I have more in the schooner between 20 & 30 slaves. Have no white person but myself. Suppose shall purchase about 80 slaves more. I look for the *Daniel* dayly.

Here is now 5 Ships in the river 2 French 3 Liverpool Fairweather Says & Cumberbush. The ships are about half slaved That matter of young Laroaches in account of the 2 men he carried off shall be oblige to settle. Fairweather has told them what the slaves sold for & advised them to charge a great deal of money for them.

[187] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, Annamaboe Road, to James Rogers, Bristol, 27 February 1791, James Rogers Papers

I wrote you in my last of the number of ships being here & the high prices given by factory ships[830] & others near being slav'd. Several of them are lately sail'd. I have now 30 slaves. The price I give now is 8 ounces @ £5 & 10 ounces @ £5. If it can be kept to that & brisk trade it may do & to the advantage of trade here in general.

I expect the *Dragon* from windward soon & if I could get a good price for her here should be induc'd to sell her, as I am much distress'd for a mate. If she brings down a good lot of slaves I shall send her off as soon as possible with her complement of slaves & ivory of which I shall write you again soon.

I have buried James Barnes & have been oblig'd to discharge Robert Roberts by order of the commodore & governor.

[188] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, Annamaboe Road, to James Rogers, Bristol, 10 March 1791, James Rogers Papers

This day the *Dragon* arrived here from windward with 21 slaves, ivory & rice. I

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829 The *Dragon*, John Seasbrick master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1790, purchased slaves at Anomabu, sold them at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 7 Sept. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 164. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18067 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell. The vessel embarked 79 imputed slaves mainly at Anomabu and disembarked 79 imputed slaves at Jamaica.

830 i.e. ships attached to slave factories on the Gold Coast.

purpose sending her off next month full slav'd to Mr John Tharp[831] unless I receive your orders previous to her sailing, to the contrary. I have sold thirteen hundred weight of ivory to Mr Field governor of Cape Coast.[832] Teeth at 3s 3d and exerevelor's [i.e. scrivellas] at 2s per cwt. My purchase of slaves to this time in the ship is 50. I hear the *Rodney* is coming out & to stop here. Shall be very glad to receive an officer by her.

Captain Seasbrick informs me he have brought down 5 tons rice: this with the 3 tons I purchased myself to windward I hope will be a good stock of that provision for my slaves. Ships trading here at present *Recovery* Factory ship Captain Hewson[833] *Molly* Captain Bibby[834] *Golden Age* Captain Ferer[835] *Mermaid* Captain Wright[836] *Aigal* Captain Mathews[837] *Hero* Captain Ainsworth[838] besides Americans and four sail at Cape Coast. The price of slaves 12 & 14 ounces & from £3 to 5 given on a slave. The factory's get such a constant supply of goods from England that they cutt the other ships out in a regular & common assortment. I have not given yet above £32 for women & £32 10s for men & shall endeavour to keep off from giving a long price to the utmost in my power as long as I am able & I hope to get through it in time.

With my best endeavours the schooner *Speculator* Captain Baker[839] that this comes by will be ordered out of London in 14 days after her arrival there to return to Cape Coast immediately. The slackness of the trade gives me to imagine that I shall not be off the coast till after her return. In that case any letters addressed to Mrs

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831 John Tharp (1744-1804), planter and owner of ten Jamaican sugar estates. His wealth at death was £362,000. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/person/view/2146642249. On his connections with Bristol, see Kenneth Morgan, ed., 'Calendar of Correspondence from William Miles, a West Indian Merchant in Bristol, to John Tharp, a Planter in Jamaica, 1770-1789' in Patrick McGrath, ed., *A Bristol Miscellany* (Bristol, 1985), pp. 81-121.

832 William Fields was the chief agent at Cape Coast Castle between 1789 and 1791. David P. Henige, ed., *Colonial Governors from the Fifteenth Century to the Present* (Madison, WI, 1970), p. 120.

833 Factory ships were attached to slave factories in West Africa.

834 The *Molly*, Robert Bibby master, George Case, James Aspinall, John Bridge Aspinall, John Gregson, James Gregson, William Gregson, William Gregson jr, Edward Wilson, William Begg, Thomas Morland, owners, left Liverpool on 6 May 1790, embarked 332 imputed slaves at Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 304 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 8 Oct. 1791. Voyage ID 82773 in www.slavevoyages.org

835 The *Golden Age*, Joseph Fayrer master, William Jackson, Thomas Hinde Sr, Thomas Hinde Jr, Joseph Fayrer, John Howard, Thomas Parke sr, Samuel Simpson, Peter Whitfield Brancker, owners, left Liverpool on 16 Aug. 1790, embarked 541 imputed slaves on the Gold Coast, disembarked 536 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 14 Nov. 1791. Voyage ID 81609 in www.slavevoyages.org

836 The *Mermaid*, Mungo Wright master, Robert & Henry Keowen Hunter & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1790, purchased slaves at Anomabu, sold 136 at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 25 Aug. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 171. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18077 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 26 July 1790 and embarked 140 imputed slaves at Anomabu.

837 Not listed in www.slavevoyages.org.

838 The *Hero*, Thomas Smith and William Lace masters, John Webster, John Dawson, Thomas Clarke, John Houghton, Charles Wilson, John Matthews and James Eckley Colley owners, left Liverpool on 3 Mar. 1790, embarked 419 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 286 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 27 Apr. 1791. Voyage ID 82328 in www.slavevoyages.org.

839 The *Speculator*, J. Harrison master replaced by – Baker, Henry Neale Baker, William Feilde owners, left London on 19 Aug. 1791, embarked 58 imputed slaves at Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 57 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to London on 23 May 1792. Voyage ID 83577 in www.slavevoyages.org

Fielder's care No 1 Noble Street, Foster Lane, Cheapside, London will come out with the *Gover*.

James Born my carpenter's mate died since my arrival here & I have discharg'd Robert Roberts.

I hope this will find you & family in good health.

[189] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, John Kennedy, Montego Bay, to James Rogers, Bristol, 13 March 1791, James Rogers Papers

I am happy to inform you of my safe arrival February 11th with 92 slaves & one child sold the 21st. Have buried four slaves.[840] The worst of my passage was from Dominica to Jamaica. Only could mess the slaves orderly one day during the whole time. Have had a great deal of difficulty on account of my not having a doctor but have got through that business entirely through the interest of Mr Grant.[841] The first set of bills will be remitted per packet sails the 21st instant the second per *Fly* Captain Wilson of London. The amount of remittance will be £2620 14s. 6d. sterling bills 18 24 30 months sight. Could not get them at any shorter sight. Have been sold in this bay since my arrival from fourteen to fifteen hundred slaves. The people have all left me. Only the mate Mr Roach & Edward Bartlett cook. Enclosed you have the amount of disburstments & my certificate which I beg the favour of your doing the needful for your obedient & humble servant.

P. S. I sail this evening or tomorrow morning in ballast for the coast. Am cleared out for the Cape Divides. The collector could not clear me out for Africa. The *Monmouth* Captain Atkins is arrived.

[190] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, Francis Grant, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 15 March 1791, James Rogers Papers

It is somewhat surprising your letter of 30th November should not have reached me until the first instant; & permit me to add that it is equally so that you should write me so seldom considering the confidence you place in me by committing the sale of Guinea Men to me even after I had requested you to discontinue such consignments. Your delaying so long to answer my letters & hearing lately that the *Daniel*'s cargo was sold at Grenada laid me under a sort of necessity to take up a ship from Bonny to make good to my friends here the engagements I had come under to them in consequence of expecting the *Daniel*.

I did not wish for any more business of this kind for the present as you must be convinced of by my letters per *Iris*[842] and *Rodney* and therefore I shall not consider myself bound to undertake the sale of Woodville Roper's cargoes yet if they do come

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840 Refers to a voyage of the *Flora*, Thomas and Beau Walker and John Kennedy masters, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners. The ship left Bristol on 27 June 1790, embarked 83 imputed slaves at the Banana Islands, disembarked 73 imputed slaves at Montego Bay, and returned direct to Africa. Later the vessel returned to Bristol. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 167; Voyage ID 18070 in www.slavevoyages.org.

841 i.e. Francis Grant.

842 The *Iris*, George Cleland master, Richard Miles, Jerome Bernard Weuves owners, left London on 28 Dec. 1790, embarked 289 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 265 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to London on 28 Dec. 1791. Voyage ID 81924 in www.slavevoyages.org

you may rely on my exercising the best of my judgment to put them into good hands in case it may not be advisable for myself to sell them, and this I presume to be your meaning in addressing them again to me. A small Gold coast cargo I should have had no objection to if well chosen & real Gold Coast Negroes but it is too late now for that & you are not to understand this as authority to order one for me except it already be in the way here and in all cases I recommend your procuring letters for other houses for all the ships you send this way for I am determined against engaging absolutely for any ship whatever before I see the cargo. The first offer therefore is all I ask, & if you will be so good as to give directions to that effect I shall consider myself obliged for it.

Your shooner *Flora* Captain Kennedy arrived here about a month ago with 72 Negroes from Sierra Leon, a very good little parcel & consequently I have been anabled to make a great average for you as will appear by the sales & account current herewith forwarded. The net proceeds being £2,620 14s. 6d. sterling, I have divided for your greater conveniency into six setts of bills p £436 15. 9d. payable at the usual periods of 18, 24 & 30 months sight. I hope all will be to your satisfaction.

[191] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Samuel Stribling, Old Calabar, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 2 April 1791, James Rogers Papers

This is my conveyance pr *Lady Penrhyn* Captain Smith of Liverpool[843] to acquaint you that I am waiting here for the *Daniel* but on her long stay suppose some accident has happened if not she must be here very soon. I think Martin's orders are to return to Callabar again if not orderd home then should Immagin you would send some other small vessell about 150 slaves more or less which ought to been here before this time. This voyage from its first to last has caused me a vast deal of trouble for Martins long stay on the windward coast and now the 2nd time and so many slaves died in the *Pearl* dayly when in Callabar River and now am waiting here in so disagreeable sickly place doing of nothing not knowing what to do on account of vessells arivel. If the *Daniel* or some other vessells do not arrive or some advise in 5 or 6 weeks shall not stay any longer. Shall be obliged to leave the goods with the natives and that is very disagreeable to me. I stayed here as the *Pearl* was buying so fast and no white people in the ship and ordered to wait the *Daniel* to make the best of the voyage to keep the *Pearl* here would be distressing of everything expence of provisions burying of slaves dayly.

The ships here are *Fairweather* Cumberbach and French ship. These will all sail in 6 weeks if *Fairweather* has no tender. Could wish had some of number 53: 44 was obliged to pay to carry of salt in the *Triton* though obliged every 2nd tender to pay comey if for slaves the same kind goods as the 1st ship. Hope the *Triton* will get safe home. Was obliged to take out 1 officer. There is a very bad sett of people in her.

If you are inclined to send another ship you must send 30 India photaes to 100 slaves. Lay in an addition of chintz for buying of slaves, reduce cushtaes and chillies if the [illegible] the numbers that don't answer well here.

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843 The *Lady Penrhyn*, William Lace master replaced by Thomas Smith, John Webster, John Dawson, Thomas Clarke, John Matthews, Charles Wilson, John Houghton, James Eckley Colley owners, left Liverpool on 13 Sept. 1790, embarked 308 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 228 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 7 Sept. 1791. Voyage ID 82220 in www.slavevoyages.org

[192] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, *Jupiter*, Annamaboe Road, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 17 April 1791, James Rogers Papers

This is to inform you of my proceedings to this date. Slaves purchasd 100 of which 72 are on board. I have sold a lot of ivory to the governor of Cape Coast for gold. Small exscrivelors at 2/ and larger ivory at 3/3 per lb. I expect the *Dragon* from Leward every day. Hope to get her off in the course of this month.

A palaver here have lately prevailed on shore between Mr Miles governor of Annamaboe Fort[844] & the natives on account of their ill treatment to him & endeavouring to block up the fort from all communication of trade & intercourse with the shipping. For such insolence, rebellious behaviour and refusing to give the governor satisfaction for the injury offer'd to himself & fort, he fir'd upon the town, burnt it and since the 7th instant the trade have been stop'd in this road. Mr Fields governor in chief at Cape Coast Castle have summon'd all the members of the council to assemble there in order to take the affair into consideration to settle the palaver & to use the most effectual methods to prevent the committee's servants in forts or white men in general from being subjects to the natives & their cruel treatment whenever they are wantonly inclin'd to inflict any punishment upon them.

There are but few ships here now and it shall be my utmost endeavour when the trade opens again to bring the price of slaves down to £7 for women & £9 for men which will be a means of making up for the stoppage of trade if it can be accomplish'd.

The *Brothers* Captain Williams & the *Thomas* Captain Phillips stop'd here a few days ago & the *Mary* Captain Mentor is now here on his way for Abon.[845] Shall write you again soon.

[193] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, William Woodville, Jr, Bance Island, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 20 April 1791, James Rogers Papers

The sailing of the *Africa* Captain Williams of Bristol presents me with an opportunity of informing you of our arrival here 7th instant Three or four days after we left Lundy we had very heavy gales of wind from the SW but by its moderating & the wind coming round into the SE quarter we made our passage in fact by the ship's fast sailing for we scarcely ever could lay our course. On 8th ultimo we saw Madeira & spoke a ship from Lisbon to Brazil. On the 11th spoke a small ship from Dunkirk for the Southern fishery.[846] The 15th ultimo saw the Cape Verde islands. On the 25th spoke the *Sherburn Castle* Gerrard Preston of Liverpool for Angola. After very calm weather on the 6th instant we made Cape Formosa & the next day we ran into Bannee.[847] The day we made Cape Formosa we saw our ship astern & another ahead. We left the former & spoke the latter. The *Brothers* Williams of Bristol who followed us in over the bar for having a good opportunity I run immediately into the river without stopping. The ship astern has proved to be the *Chambers* Berry of Liverpool who is since arrived having missed this river & down to Old Calabar. We are now in the river thirteen ships.

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844 Thomas Miles was governor of Anomabu Fort (1789-92) and operated a private factory at Little Popo from 1793 to 1796. He died in 1796. Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*, p. 254.

845 A village in the eastern part of the Gold Coast.

846 i.e. the southern whale fishery in the mid- and south-Atlantic Ocean.

847 i.e. Bonny, situated in the most eastern part of the Gulf of Guinea.

Thomas	Dodgson	Liverpool[848]	400 slaves
Hannah	Young	Liverpool[849]	350
Squirrel	Simmons	Liverpool[850]	250
Fisher	Kirwan	Liverpool[851]	330
Chambers	Berry	Liverpool	330
Favourite	Fitzhenry	Bristol[852]	270
Brothers	Williams	Bristol[853]	330
Iris	Cleland	London	300
Nouvel Amour	Rainjard	Nantes[854]	500
Les des Amis	ditto		350
Le Negre	ditto		200
Jane			400
Rodney[855]			

Slaves are dearer now than ever I knew them & trade has been slacker but it begins now to revive. I believe we shall do fully as well as any of the ships for our cargo is very well assorted & fortunately for me all my opponents have their connections to form & he is much disliked. I expect the next fair[856] will be down in twenty days & then the *Thomas Hannah Fisher Squirrel Favourite Le Negre Les deux amis* will be ready for sea for they want but few. Then I hope to gather so many as to put it out

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848 The *Thomas*, Thomas Dodson master, William Boats, Thomas Seaman, James Percival owners, left Liverpool on 20 Oct. 1790, embarked 421 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 398 imputed slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 20 Sept. 1791. Voyage ID 83757 in www.slavevoyages.org.

849 The *Hannah*, William Young master, Thomas Leyland, Moses Benson, Charles Wilson owners, left Liverpool on 30 Oct. 1790, embarked 341 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 308 at St. Vincent, and returned to Liverpool on 25 Sept. 1791. Voyage ID 81714 in www.slavevoyages.org.

850 The *Squirrel*, John Simmons master, William Boats, Thomas Seaman, James Percival owners, left Liverpool on 24 Nov. 1790, embarked 170 imputed slaves at Bonny but was then shipwrecked or destroyed during slaving or after slave embarkation. Voyage ID 83614 in www.slavevoyages.org

851 The *Fisher*, John Hewan master, Ralph Fisher, William Aspinall, John Hodgson, Thomas Hodgson jr, John Kewley, Patrick Kewley, William Jackson, John Hewan owners, left Liverpool on 29 Nov. 1790, embarked 290 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 211 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 27 Nov. 1791. Voyage ID 81452 in www.slavevoyages.org

852 The *Favourite*, John Fitzhenry master, Patrick Fitzhenry owner, left Bristol on 27 Jan. 1791, embarked 243 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 223 slaves at St. Vincent and Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 10 Oct. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 185; voyage ID 18098 in www.slavevoyages.org.

853 The *Brothers*, Joseph Williams master, James Jones owner, left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at Bonny, sold them at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 27 Oct. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 180. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18092 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 28 Jan. 1791, embarked 279 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 229 imputed slaves at Grenada.

854 The *Nouvel Amour*, Mathurin Ringeard master, Langevin frères owners, left Nantes on 27 Jan. 1791, embarked 527 imputed slaves at Bonny and Calabar, disembarked 400 imputed slaves at Port-au-Prince, and returned to Nantes on 10 July 1792. Voyage ID 31366 in www.slavevoyages.org

855 The *Rodney*, William Woodville Jr master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at Bonny, sold 253 at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 15 Nov. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 195. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18117 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell. The vessel left Bristol on 20 Feb. 1791 and embarked 371 imputed slaves at Bonny.

856 Refers to gathering slaves from inland fairs.

of the power of any ship to hurt me much. Some of the ships have been here from sixteen to nineteen weeks but as the provision in the back country is now settled the times are much mended in respect to the briskness of trade though the prices remain the same.

I feel myself very comfortable in respect to officers. They are diligent attentive & sober. By the arrival of the *Thomas* Phillips of Bristol I hear your ship the *Jupiter*[857] has seventy or eighty slaves on board but as Captain Mungo Wright was to sail about this time. I imagine you will have the particulars. There are eight or nine ships on that coast now. We have now twenty slaves on board.

[194] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, William Roper, Iles de Los, to James Rogers, Bristol, 24 April 1791, James Rogers Papers

I have the pleasure to inform you this day I have this place I have purchased 240 slaves payable in September next in good hands. Captain Walker intends sending the *Fame*[858] off in about 15 days. I cannot say whether she will take off her full complement of slaves, or not, owing to Mr Cleveland's death.[859] As I have secured 240 slaves for the *Crescent* payable in September I mean to proceed to Bassa to trade with the natives, as my intention is to assist Captain Walker to send the *Ruby*[860] off as soon as possible. I have sold the schooner *James* in order to lessen my expence without her provisions and stores for twenty slaves. Captain Walker having no employment for the *St Patrick* I mean to take her and send her to Gambia for to settle with Mr Gibson.

[195] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, Cape Coast Road, to Thomas Richards, Barbados, 30 April 1791, James Rogers Papers

I have order'd Captain Seasbrick in my schooner *Dragon* to call on you for letters if any lodg'd with you from Mr James Rogers of Bristol. I hope to have the pleasure of calling on you myself in a few months if no other vessells come out to me for slaves. The trade here is at present stop'd on account of palavers between the governor of Annamabo & the natives. Ships here at present the *Jupiter*, S…h, *Golden Age*,

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857 The *Jupiter*, John Smith master, James Rogers, Richard Fydell and Sir James Laroche owners, left Bristol on 30 Sept. 1790, intended to purchase 430 slaves, embarked 299 imputed slaves at Anomabu, disembarked 271 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 23 Mar. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 169; voyage ID 18074 in www.slavevoyages.org.

858 The *Fame*, James Williams master, James Rogers, Richard Fydell, Thomas Walker, Sir James Laroche owners, left Bristol on 7 Nov. 1790, embarked 154 imputed slaves at the Banana Islands, disembarked 152 imputed slaves at Spanish Town, and returned to Bristol on 17 Oct. 1791. Rchardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 166; voyage ID 18069 in www.slavevoyages.org.

859 i.e. James Cleveland: see document no. 92.

860 The *Ruby*, John Kennedy master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1790, purchased slaves at the Bananoes, sold them at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 2 July 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 176. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18084 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell. The vessel left Bristol on 2 June 1790, embarked 157 imputed slaves at the Sierra Leone estuary/Iles de Los/Banana Islands and disembarked 132 imputed slaves at Montego Bay.

Robertson, *Mary*, Mentor,[861] *Mollys* Bibby, *Recovery*, Hewson,[862] *Mercury*, Eagles,[863] *Little Hero*, Man besides 6 Sail of American rum ships and 2 Dutch ships at the mines. The price of slaves have been very high & scarce. Hope for better trade & that this will find you in good health with good sales in the West Indies.

[196] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, William Woodville, Jr, Bance River, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 3 May 1791, James Rogers Papers

I wrote you by the *Alfred* of Bristol from New Calabar the 20th ultimo and by the *Jane* of Liverpool from hence 23rd ultimo since which I have nothing now to inform you of. I have as then twenty slaves on board & in four or five days expect seventy or eighty more. We are still thirteen ships two having arrived since my last. This is forwarded to you by the *Thomas* Captain Dodgson of Liverpool who was here nearly five months. I expect to sail by 1st July notwithstanding.

[197] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, William Woodville, Jr, Bance Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 16 May 1791, James Rogers Papers

I had the pleasure of addressing you 20th ultimo by the *Alfred* Williams 23rd by the *Jane* Beachope & the 4th instant by the *Thomas* Dodgson. Since my last we have become very sickly in our white men three of whom are dead. William Evans, George Lewis & John Hollister. All my mates except the chief & third mate are sick. Boatswain, cooper & carpenter & eight more men.

We have now one hundred & twenty three slaves & I imagine a month from this time will compleat our purchase. They are all at present healthy except one woman whom I have sent on shore to try if that would help her recovery & it has had the desired effect. She is now mending fast. When we have trusty persons with whom we can lodge a sick slave I think it is the best method – for our surgeons are so little acquainted with their modes of life & their habits which are so extremely different from ours & the effect of their food which appears from what I can learn to be almost entirely vegetable – that either not understanding how these circumstances operate upon the constitution or not considering them they scarcely ever treat them with propriety.

I did not get many slaves @ 65 bars & 70 bars. As I informed you before I did not expect it but the statement will be as follows nearly – say for forty slaves –

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861 The *Mary*, Edward Mentor master, Thomas Jones, James Jones owners, left Bristol on 19 Feb. 1791, embarked 165 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 158 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 21 Oct. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 190; voyage ID 18108. www.slavevoyages.org

862 The *Recovery*, John Kimber master, James Rogers, John Gordon and Willim Gordon owners, left Bristol on 10 Apr. 1791 from Bristol in 1791, emabarked 304 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 283 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 24 Dec. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 193; voyage ID 18115 in www.slavevoyages.org. Kimber was tried for murder in 1792 after being accused by William Wilberforce of torturing an enslaved girl on the voyage. He was acquitted but the case attracted much press publicity. For a detailed consideration of the trial, see Nicholas Rogers, *Murder on the Middle Passage: The Trial of Captain Kimber* (Woodbridge, 2020).

863 The *Mercury*, John Bell and – Fraser masters, William Collow owner, left London in Oct. 1790, embarked 310 imputed slaves at Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 300 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to London on 23 Sept. 1791. Voyage ID 82695 in www.slavevoyages.org.

20 men @ 75	1500 bars
20 women @ 70	1400
Work bars @ 40 each	1600
6 kegs brandy	600
1 cask manillas	100
Presents &c 5 bars	200

5400 bars is 135 bars each slave

I scarcely expect to get half my complement @ 70 & 75 but I shall be obliged to pay 75 & 80 for the last half. We may thank Fitzhenry in great measure for the high price of slaves but he has paid dearly for it. The other day he had an insurrection & says he lost thirty two. But there are some other circumstances owing to his giving so much cloth which will make most against his voyage as I hear he is obliged to sell slaves to buy cloth to enable him to settle.

As the *Hannah* Young & *Squirrel* Simmons are both sailing together I have sent you duplicates.

Since the above died James Russel.

[198] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, J. Smith, Cape Coast Road, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 24 May 1791, James Rogers Papers

This is to Inform you of my sending the *Dragon* from this for the West Indies the 30th April with 77 slaves & 2 children all in good order. I have on board 44 slaves & 40 more due. The trade have been slack since the 7th of last month on account of a palaver that happen'd between the governor of Annamaboe & the town's people which is still unsettled.

This by favour of Thomas Miles Esquire the late governor of Annamaboe who has promis'd me to inform you of the particular's of the same and of the state of the trade here at present. Although there are but few ships here, slaves at the rate of £8 for women & £10 for men to the natives, which would do tolerable well was it not for the quantity of gold they require on each slave. Goods in demand here are India Patna chintz not high price'd red Danes & India romalls assorted, plain red or narrow strip'd taffeties pullicat blue bandonos good half cottons, chilloes, bejud negants tapsales flower'd cuttenese Silesias & Guinea stuff a large quantity of brass pans & pewter brandy or rum of which the rum from America have the preference. The rainy season is now sett in & a very sickly time lately. Several gentlmen have died in the forts. One of the gentlmen (Mr Lucadon) that came out with me passenger died the 9th instant & Mr Holyday the other of my passengers is very ill at Cape Coast Castle. I have buried four of my people since I arriv'd on the coast – viz – James Barns James Dally James Vaughan & John Boathook & several of my people are very sickly at present.

I was inform'd of the *Rodney* or *Sarah*[864] intended to call here with a supply of

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864 The *Sarah*, John Goodrich master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at Bonny, sold 187 at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 7 Feb. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 197. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18120 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, John Goodrich, Sir James Laroche, John Purnell and Richard Fydell. The vessel left Bristol on 10 Mar. 1791, embarked 231 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 190 imputed slaves at Jamaica on 13 Nov. 1791.

goods but neither of them have been here nor have I heard of they'r stoping anywhere to windward. I have order'd the *Dragon* to be sold in the West Indies but if she does not fetch the price fix'd Seasbrick is order'd to be dispatch'd Immediately with the bills home. The want of my mate have been very detrimental to me & I experience it dayly. I shall proceed with my purchase as fast as possible & do my utmost endeavour & with my best compliments to Mrs Thirsby.

[199] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Wm Woodville, Jr, Bance River, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 25 May 1791, James Rogers Papers

I wrote to you by the *Squirrel* Simmons & *Hannah* Young of Liverpool who both sailed from hence the 15th Instant, but unfortunately the *Squirrel* was totally lost in going out of the Portuguese channell[865] & she had somewhere about two hundred & fifty slaves on board at the time & the greatest part are saved off the wreck. Mr Boates has two more vessels here & they have the care of them.

I have now one hundred & sixty one slaves & still hope to leave this by the middle of June with from three hundred & eighty to three hundred & ninety slaves.[866] Every ship falls short very much this year. I shall be obliged to pay 75 & 80 bars at the fair. The Liverpool ships the *Jenny* Flint *Eliza* Kennel *Mary* Horrocks & the *Bannister* all sailed within these few days from New Callabar. Slaves are there 105 & 110 bars & 25 [illegible] barrs &c there are now at New Calabar *Thomas* of Bristol[867] *Diana* of Liverpool[868] *Nancy* of Liverpool[869] & one French ship. We are here

Iris Cleland London Miles & Weaver
Brothers Williams Bristol James Jones
Chambers Berry Liverpool
Ranger[870] Corran Liverpool W Boates & Co.

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865 The *Squirrel* was wrecked after slaves had embarked at Bonny. Voyage ID 83614 in www.slavevoyages.org.

866 This refers to voyages of the *Rodney*, William Woodville, Jr captain, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners. The ship left Bristol on 20 Feb. 1791, embarked 371 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 284 imputed slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 15 Nov. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 195; voyage ID 18117 in www.slavevoyages.org.

867 The *Thomas*, Thomas Phillips master, James Jones & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at New Calabar, arrived with 282 at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 10 Feb. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 199. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18123 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Jones, Thomas Jones, Edward Watkins and John Watkins. The vessel left Bristol on 26 Feb. 1791 and embarked 293 imputed slaves at New Calabar.

868 The *Diana*, William Smith master replaced by Jonathan Skinner, John Shaw, Samuel Orme owners, left Liverpool on 20 Feb. 1791, embarked 135 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 120 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 11 Jan. 1792. Voyage ID 81008 in www.slavevoyages.org

869 The *Nancy*, Samuel Williams master, John Copland owner, left Liverpool on 29 Mar. 1791, embarked 171 imputed slaves at Iles de Los and the Sierra Leone estuary, disembarked 166 imputed slaves at St. Vincent, and returned to Liverpool on 15 Nov. 1791. Voyage ID 82835 in www.slavevoyages.org.

870 The *Ranger*, John Corran master, William Boats, Thomas Seaman, James Percival owners, left Liverpool on 20 Feb. 1791, embarked 190 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 170 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to Liverpool on 17 Nov. 1791. Voyage ID 83273 in www.slavevoyages.org

Mary Ann[871] Bristol Liverpool do
Le Nouvel Amour Nantz[872]
Le Eole[873] ditto
Rodney

We are very sickly in our own white men & since my last we have had a continual rain almost incessant which has affected a few of our slaves notwithstanding every precaution. A number of fires & flannel shirts to those who were ailing but there is only one boy who is very bad & him I think irrecoverable. The rest mend. There are three besides the boy who are sick

The dead are as follows viz
1791
May 3rd William Evans
4th George Lewis
10th John Ollister
16th James Russel
17th Nicholas Lasham
18th William Gambel
18th Andreas Mullen
20th John Noseworthy

The boatswain carpenter & cooper mend considerably.

[200] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/8, William Cleveland, Banana Islands, to James Rogers, Bristol, 27 May 1791, James Rogers Papers

Having embraced this opportunity by Mr Thomas Evason a passenger in the Brig *Surprise* Captain Taylor who leaves this this day and hopes will enjoy the pleasure of seeing you in good state of health informing you at the same time of the unfortunate death of my uncle Mr James Cleveland; this melancholy event taking place in Sherbro the 25th of March last have occasion'd me many discontents and rumours in that country. In consequence of this approaching evil and the uneasiness of the creditors I've compounded with them in behalf of the late deceased to discharge one half of their debts within the space of three years & the other half at the expiration of that period.

These rumours has caused me much trouble in happening at my channel of trade, but since the *Fame* sailed I've got affairs in a more amicable situation and hopes soon to be entirely settl'd and discuss'd and trade brought again in its natural course. The *Fame*'s detention dear sir am sorry to acquaint you has chiefly been on this crisis but every possible exertion in my power from hence will be made towards dispatch & the *Ruby* which I flatter myself will be in four or five months hence. I am perfectly sensible of the disadvantages you labour under from this unexpected event but hope

871 The *Mary Ann*, Thomas Bushell master, William Boats, Thomas Seaman and James Percival owners, left Liverpool on 2 Mar. 1791, embarked 255 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 207 imputed slaves at Montego Bay, and returned to Liverpool on 24 Nov. 1791. Voyage ID 82628 in www.slavevoyages.org.

872 i.e. Nantes.

873 The *Eole*, Julien Guichet master, Joseph Mosneron owner, left Nantes on 18 Mar. 1791, embarked 443 imputed slaves at Calabar and Bonny, disembarked 336 imputed slaves at Les Cayes, and returned to Nantes on 19 Feb. 1792. Voyage ID 31369 in www.slavevoyages.org

in a short period to bring 'em to an an agreeable conclusion. With my best wishes for your health & happiness.

[201] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Thomas Walker, Isle Bananas, to James Rogers, Bristol, 5 June 1791, James Rogers Papers

I have to inform you of the arrival of your schooner *Flora* from Jamaica after a passage of twelve weeks. I find Captain Kennedy has not got her cleared out from the coast but as I am in hourly expectation of the *Princess* with *Union*, as I find by Captain Roper, she is coming to me it will be in good season. Rum is greatly in demand & will come to a good market. In that case I shall put in all the slaves I can muster after the *Ruby* is [illegible] in the *Flora* & proceeds on her myself to Saint Eustatia and call on Messrs Haffey & Irwin where I beg you will have the [illegible] letters for my government as I suppose I must sell at some foreign port.

I hope the *Ruby* will be off in all November or October when I shall remit you twenty slaves for [illegible] & for the rest of her cargo Mr Cleveland has faithfully promised me 120 for the *Ruby* & with what letter other [illegible] well. I made no [illegible] recovering all the property if James Cleveland lives. Had it not been for the death of James Cleveland I certainly sould made a very cappital voyage as my purchase has been very great. I do advise the *Fame* to be sent out here with one hundred & thirty or 40 slaves goods & then she can be collecting in a [illegible], as worth more money [illegible].

I shall write you fully in 14 days by the West Indies. As this chance is unexpected & by a boat bound out the coast I have bin very [illegible] this 10 days past. The *Flora* goes tomorrow to Gambia.

Fame sailed for Jamaica May 13 with 153 slaves besides ivory.

[202] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Thomas Richards, Barbados, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 7 June 1791, James Rogers Papers

Above is a copy of a letter I received this day from Captain Smith by your schooner *Dragon*, Captain Seasbrick, who arrived here this day with 77 slaves after a passage of 5 weeks and 2 days from Annamabo. He has fortunately not lost a slave on the passage, and as no letters were here for him he proceeded this evening for Saint Vincent. Captain Seasbrick informed me that his slaves are in very good condition.

[203] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Seasbrick, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 9 June 1791, James Rogers Papers

I arrived at Barbados after a pasige of 5 weeks & 2 days with my complement of slaves buried none 77 44 males 33 females all in good health. Found no letter at Barbados I proceeded to this which I arrived this morning & calld upon Messrs Baillie &Co. where I find no letter which I am very sorry for as Messrs Baillie informs me the price of slaves is much fallen at Jamaica. The [illegible] arrived here a week ago with 200 & [illegible] slaves consigned to Mr Baillie. I am getting a few necessarys such as bread & rice as the slaves will not eat old corn. I shall proceed to Jamaica tonight. I left Captain Smith in good health. I fancy before you receive this you'l hear of the disturbance at Annamabo which I am much afraid will detain the *Jupiter* long.

[204] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/14, William Roper, Bassa Road, to James Rogers, Bristol, 17 June 1791, James Rogers Papers

This is the 4th letter I have wrote you since my arrival in Africa. Since my last I have been twenty days from the River Siera-Leon to this place. I have been here 5 days, and have ony purchased 5 slaves with a small quantity of ivory. Believe me I have not purchas'd a slave that has cost me less than twenty pence since my arrival upon the coast.

I have on board twenty-six hundred weight of indifferent ivory which may neat about 12 or 14 guineas per hundred; and half a ton of good ivory but rather small. I have purchased from the natives and white traders together about two hundred & seventy seven slaves: all I purchase more than the *Crescent*[874] can carry off I mean to send in the *Ruby*.

The first time I let go my anchor at the Iles de Los with Mr Fox's cable bent to it. It was washed away like a swab, being mixed with so many old yarns. The new yarns stretch, and the old ones give way which obliged me to cut off ten fathoms. The next time I had occasion to let it go, it came up in the same condition, which obliged me to cut fifteen fathoms off. For my comfort yesterday it bursted close by the wind [damaged] when we were riding little or no strain [damaged] to the crews tomorrow [damaged] were [damaged]. Anchors and cable may the saving of a good [damaged] and cargo. Thank God I am pretty well provided with a good cable I had made in Liverpool and the new cable I had last voyage, which I make no doubt but they are good.

[205] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, James Williams, Old Harbour, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, July 1791, James Rogers Papers

I write you to acquaint you of arrival in Jamaica after a passage of thirty seven days with one hundred & fifty negroes which according to my order I have delivered them to Mr McCloud esquire. I was detaind on the coast longer than expected on the account James Clevland death. I am sorry to say you will find it a bad death for you. I came off the coast 46 slaves short of my cargo. My sales comes on Monday July 11th. Slaves a great demand here now but the high average is of no use for me for you wrote Mr MacCloud that you are satisfyd with the same average that Mr Grant[875] averaged you the last year in this island which was £43. Had I received orders according her any expectation I could venture to say I should average forty eight. I am not of the least dout but Mr MacCloud will act with honner. He is very well pleasd with the small cargo I have brought him but not one third [illegible]. I shall leave here the eighteenth or twenty of July with a full cargo of rum & sugar. Rum very high. I have two slaves on freight died on my voyage. I should been very happy had the packet stayd two or three days longer that I might had the pleasure of

874 The *Crescent*, William Roper master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at Isle de Los, sold them at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 8 Mar. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 182. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18095 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Thomas Walker. The vessel left Bristol on 29 Feb. 1791, embarked 244 imputed slaves at Iles de Los and disembarked 224 imputed slaves at Montego Bay.

875 i.e. Francis Grant.

letting you know my average.

[206] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, Cape Coast Road, to James Rogers, Bristol, 5 July 1791, James Rogers Papers

This to Inform you of my purchase to this being 230 slaves. The palaver with the natives in not yet subsided nor have any terms of accommodation towards a reconciliation between the governor & council and the natives yet taken place.

I hope before this the *Dragon* have come to a good sale in the West Indies, having sent her off with 77 good healthy slaves.

The rainy season have been & still is very severe here. I hope in my next to inform you when I shall be off, having many slaves due me. I am now come to a prime assortment of goods & must have a part of trade that is going.

Captain Goodrich sails from this the 29 May & Captain Kimber[876] the 1st June. I received 1 butt & 2 chests goods from the former. The chintz would [be] suited much better had they been each 15 lower price. Captain Goodrich spoke with Captain Laroach[877] to windward. Captain Martin in the *Bess*[878] sailed from this for Gaboon 5 days ago. If there is any flow of trade, I hope soon to conclude my purchase.

[207] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, Alexander MacLeod, Spanish Town, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 5 July 1791, James Rogers Papers

Your bark the *Fame* arrived at Old Harbour a week ago with 160 slaves in very good order. I sell them tomorrow and though a great part of the cargo is very young, yet I trust I shall make a respectable average. I shall immediately load the vessel with sugar & rum to the amount of one third of the value of the cargo, and I hope to get her away by the 20th instant. By the *Juno* frigate, to sail on the 18th instant, I shall again do myself the pleasure of writing you more fully.

[208] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, Alexander MacLeod, Spanish Town, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 15 July 1791, James Rogers Papers

On comparing the terms on which I have engaged to sell Negroes, with those you have given my friend Mr Francis Grant, I perceive they are very different indeed. I represented this to Captain Williams and it was agreed that on the perusal of our letters and his instructions by Mr Grant that he should decide what I was to do. I take leave to send you a copy of his letter to me on this subject and to say that I shall make the sales exactly conformable to his opinion as he thinks I have committed myself by

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876 John Kimber: see document no. 195.

877 Henry Laroche took over as master of the *Swift*, James Rogers owner, from John Langdon. The vessel left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at Old Calabar, sold them at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 15 May 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 198. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18122 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 12 May 1791, embarked 380 imputed slaves at Calabar and disembarked 223 slaves at Grenada.

878 The *Bess*, Robert Martin master, Samuel Biggs & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1791, purchased slaves at Gabon, proceeded to the West Indies, and returned to Bristol on 23 July 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 180. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18091 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were Samuel Biggs and Jonathan Nash. The vessel left Bristol on 29 Jan. 1791, embarked 122 imputed slaves at Gabon and disembarked 122 imputed slaves in Jamaica.

not objecting to your terms.

The fact is that I had not the most distant idea that I was not agreeing to do business on the same footing with him. Nor could I conceive that you would say that the terms on which he sold a single ship, by the imposition of your captain, were the terms on which you did business with him. I wrote for a Gold Coast cargo – you send me a Windward Coast on Gold Coast terms. Was this our bargain? Was it not the express foundation of our agreement that *I* was to do business with you on the same terms that my friend did? Peruse his letter – he is a man of honor & veracity and tell me if I have not been improperly dealt with.

When I make out the sales I shall state to you the difference between the terms you have given Mr Grant and those given me and I shall leave it to your own sense of honor and justice to do in it what you shall think fit.

But I think it necessary to say that I shall not deal with you on such terms. Yet if you will give me the same as you do to Mr Grant according to our original bargain I shall sell the *Ruby* when she comes. And as I understand the *Jupiter* is on the Gold Coast I would be glad to have her into Old Harbour with 350 or 400 slaves. I must request your immediate & explicit answer by the first packet that I may form another connection in case you do not choose my terms.

[209] The National Archives, C107/5, William Dinsley, Old Harbour, to James Rogers, Bristol, 18 July 1791, James Rogers Papers

I have the pleasure of acquainting you that your Bark arrived at the above port the 23rd last month after a quick passage. She brought 150 slaves and two on freight. We only lost two upon the middle passage, which entitles me to the bounty.[879] We had a fine sale for them, and it was a pity we cou'd not procure of completing it at the island of Bannanoes. You'll have undoubtedly heard the news of Mr James Cleveland's death. It will keep Captain Walker some time upon the coast. I shall communicate every particular to you at our meeting, which may be of some service to you in future.

Your Bark is now taking in sugars, and I expect we shall sail latter end of this month. I hope we shall have a prosperous voyage, and I will remit my bills to your protection. I have drawn upon you for £20 for the use of Mrs Dinely. Be pleased to accept the said draft. I hope yourself and family are well. Accept my best wishes for your health and likewise your family.

[210] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on the *Recovery* at New Calabar, 19 July-30 August 1791[880]

Date of arrival on the coast and what part
New Calabar 2 June 1791
189 tons

879 i.e. a bounty allowed because of the low mortality on the Middle Passage.

880 Most daily entries in the list do not distinguish between male and female slaves. This and subsequent extracts from logbooks were compiled under the terms of Dloben's Act (1788), which required slave ships to carry surgeons who were instructed to keep a log of deaths and their causes. The logs had to be handed in at the port where the voyage ended. On vessels with less than two deaths per 100 captives, surgeons received a £50 bonus. Webster, *Materializing the Middle Passage*, p. 284.

Date	Male	Female
19 July 1791	1	2
21	78 slaves	
22	3 slaves	
23	19 slaves	
24	8 slaves	
25	2 slaves	
	113 slaves	
	48	65
26 July	1	0
27	0	1
29	82 slaves	
30	15 slaves	
31	2 slaves	
1 August	1 slave	
2	6 slaves	
3	3 slaves	
7	40 slaves	
8	12 slaves	
12	23 slaves	

[Total] 49 male slaves, 66 female slaves and 164 slaves not distinguished
Total number 299
New Calabar 1 September 1791
Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage
Male 11 Female 12
Grenada 28 October 1791
Gives no account of the number of slaves landed or sold
Date of clearing out from the West Indies to Bristol
20 November 1791

[211] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, Alexander MacLeod, Spanish Town, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 27 July 1791, James Rogers Papers

Captain Williams being detained from sailing until the 1st of next month, I beg leave to send you by him, inclosed in this, the following papers vizt.

Sales of 149 slaves per *Fame*, Captain Williams

Particulars of disbursements charged in my account current

Bill of lading for 30 hogsheads sugar & 70 puncheons of rum shipped on board the *Fame* & bill of parcels of the same amounting to £2,699 18 5 Jamaica currency & charged in my account current.

Captain James Williams receipt at the bottom of my account current herewith sent

for eight setts of bills on David Boyn amounting to £3,898 1 9 sterling. I trust you will find the papers and account current perfectly correspondin and correct. The average on the cargoes you see £64 14 3¼ currency or £46 4 5¾ sterling which I believe is the greatest average ever made in this island on a Windward Coast cargo.

Agreeably to my promise I send you herewith a statement of the difference between the terms you have granted Mr Francis Grant and those granted to me, which amounts, in the *Fame's* small cargo, to no less than £498 currency or £355 14 3 Sterling which I suppose you will allow me to charge you in a future account, if we deal. I believe I have made that much more average for you than you could have made in Kingston or the north side. I have to request your pointed answer to this and to my last. If you agree to my terms, & that the *Jupiter* is otherwise engaged, I shall be glad if you will send me Captain Williams here with 250 to 350 from the same coast to arrive here as early as possible – say April or May. I have given him a description of the sort of cargo I want – and if he he brings me them near my description, you may rest assured of an excellent average, provided they arrive in health.

[212] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, James Williams, Old Harbour, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 31 July 1791, James Rogers Papers

I wrote you the 25 June that I should leave here that 18 or 20 but my sailors all leaving me & my chief officers behaving very indifferent has detaind me till the first of August. My cargo contains 30 hogsheads of sugar & seventy puncheons of rum. Inclosd is first bill.

6 bills of five hundred pounds each 500.0.0
2 bills of four hundred & forty nine pounds each 449.0.0
My average is £46 4 5¾ sterling.

[213] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, William Woodville, Jr, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 10 August 1791, James Rogers Papers

We arrived here the 7th instant having had six weeks and one day's passage. I purchased on your account three hundred & seventy slaves & brought off one on freight for Captain Engledue of the *Eliza* who in going in towards New Callabar river was lost. During the passage sixty two slaves died & since I came here five. I am only stopped for ballast.

The gentlemen here can't insure me an average of more than thirty nine pounds sterling at the outside which is so very short of your limits that tomorrow I proceed to Martha Brae. We are too light to go down at this season which is a very dangerous one & I am under the greatest apprehensions for several more slaves. I used every possible endeavour to prevent sickness & for a long time succeeded but at last the incessant rains on the coast & the very cold weather afterwards brought on the flux which when once it acquires a footing it generally makes dreadful havock. Provisions were not to be had in Bance Island not even the usual refreshments of limes & other fruits in sufficient quantities. The *Sarah* did not bring me any corn & these slaves are so immediately fond of yams that even when well we can scarcely make them eat European provisions & much less when they begin to complain & their appetite

becomes weak.[881]

I am truly unhappy my endeavours have not met with better success as the kindness & indulgence I have met with since I have been in your service has made me doubly anxious to be fortunate.

The market at St Vincent is nearly the same as here the last average which was esteemed very great was £39 10s. 9d. It was the *Hannah* Goodrich came to Bance Island. Think he was right. I gave him every information introduced him amongst all my connections there & then left him to judge for himself. There were ten ships at New Callabar counting two who came over Bance bar the day before I sailed. I imagine *Sarah* is about leaving the coast around this time. The *Recovery* was arrived. Slaves were extravagantly dear in both rivers.

The list of dead is as follows:

Mr Nicholas Latham 17 May 1791
William Gamble 18 May
James Russel 16 May
John Noseworthy 20 May
Andreas Muller 19 May
John Hollister 11 May
William Evans 3 May
George Lewis 4 May
John White 3 May
Thomas Williams 8 May
The last was the boy whom Mr Rogers found under the glass house.

[214] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Francis Grant, Jamaica, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 11 September 1791, James Rogers Papers

I lament exceedingly that I have to complain of another bad cargo of slaves from your House, but this per the *Rodney* which I sold on the 29th ultimo ot does all former ones in that respect. The sales herewith transmitted fully confirm this account of it as from thence it will appear a very large proportion of them were refuse, & I can assure you many of those who went off in the first choice were rather thin in condition allowing I firmly believe to the effects of a malignant flux with which they were attacked soon after leaving the coast of Africa. In justice to Captain Woodville and his officers I must declare his ship appeared to me in very high order and that the utmost efforts were used for the recovery & preservation of the slaves.

On questioning him into the probable causes of so great a mortality he attributed it principally to the season of the year, and I believe very justly. At least I am sure it is the general opinion with us that not one cargo in ten comes here in a healthy condition which is laid in at the time he got his; indeed we have at this moment melancholy proofs of it in other instances besides that of the *Rodney* for there are three other ships now laying at Montego Bay each of whom lost from forty to eighty Negroes & two of the cargoes are unsold yet. They are all from Bonny & sailed much about the same

881 Many captives disliked European provisions. Slave ships therefore loaded fresh provisions from different west African regions as far as possible. Yams were a staple foodstuff taken on board slaving vessels, such as this one, which had gathered slaves from the Bight of Biafra. Angus Dalrymple-Smith, *Commercial Transitions and Abolition in West Africa 1630-1860* (Leiden, 2020), p. 54.

time the Rodney did.

I was really sorry there is too much reason for me to be of opinion you will sink a deal of money by this voyage. It will serve however as a beacon to warn you of the danger almost constantly attendant on such at the time of the year the *Rodney* was sent; at any rate I must positively object to your addressing any more to me at such a time, and except it be the *Cresent* I wish for no more at any time. That one cargo as I have already published among my friends that I expect it. I shall be glad to see it here soon; then we must have done at all events for I will not sacrifice my own happiness entirely to the delusive desire of amassing a great fortune in which I might find myself disappointed after all.

Captain Woodville takes charge of my accounts and the first bills of sixteen setts which I have drawn for the balance amounting to £7,933 12 5 sterling payable by instalments at the usual periods of eighteen twenty four & thirty months. The second I shall dispatch in two or three days by another conveyance. I have only to add (what indeed Captain Woodville can confirm) that I had people enough to present at the sale to have purchased a thousand Negroes that day had I had so many to dispose of which I mention as it is a further proof that this was a bad cargo, otherways, I must have made a good average for you consequently of the great number of persons present who came to purchase from me.

I lately received a short letter from you the subject of which was Captain Martin's bad conduct in the *Daniel*. I feel for the loss you sustained through it but very little for my own disappointment; in fact one is better without such cargoes as I understood that his was.

[215] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, John Smith, Cape Coast Road, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 24 September 1791, James Rogers Papers

I receiv'd yours of 27 June and shall endeavour to obey every order contained therein as much as possible. Hope to get off in a few days if I can collect all my slaves with near 300, the palaver with the natives still unsettled and very little prospect of it's being otherwise. The trade much divided & so many died lately in the company's service that there is scarcely whites enough remaing to take care of the fort. Messrs Lucadae & Holyday and about 12 more officers have dropped since the commencement of the palaver. There are few ships here & little trade & no sign of the palaver being settled until some men of war be sent out. The ships here at present *Recovery* Factory ship Captain Currie (late Newson) *Experiment* Walbert *Eagle* Evans *Bess* Martin[882] *Gambia* Proudfoot a Coromantee ship & *Harriot* Factory ship Captain Eagles *Little Hero* Man Thomas Tryer 2 French ships & 2 Americans with rum. At the Dutch mines a large store ship & 1 Portuguese snow & a French ship going to Captain Eagles. The schooner *Swallow* Hudson tender to Captain Williams is dropped down here from Windward with 15 slaves on board in want of provisions &c. Mr Hudson purposes stretching off the coast & proceed to join his ship on the Windward Coast, The price of slaves here at present is from £10 to £14. No war in the Interior.

Parts of the country causes the trade to be very slack about this part of the coast

882 The *Bess*, R. Martin master, Samuel Biggs and Jonathan Nash owners, left Bristol on 29 Jan. 1791, embarked 122 imputed slaves at Gabon, disembarked 122 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 23 July 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 180; voyage ID 18091 in www.slavevoyages.org.

and is a general complaint, of which I am sorry to experience but being in hopes to arrive at a good market in the West Indies. The ship *Alice* Captain Smith from Liverpool is arriv'd at Appolonia.[883]

As I have room in the hould am taking in some casks of malagetta pepper on freight.

[216] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/12, Henry Laroche, Grenada, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 1 October 1791, James Rogers Papers

According to your order, I call'd at St Vincent. I waited on Messrs Baillie & Co. They wou'd not look at the cargo. The *Mary* of Liverpool arrived at the same time. Offered is cargo for £38 from River Congo. Few under size. I think health & youth no cargo could exceed them.

The [blank] arrived at Grenada some weeks before me. Mr Munro took her up. I waited on him. He said he did not wish to have anything to do with an Old Callabar cargo. Recommended to offer my cargo to Messrs Baillie & Co. should they not take me up. He wou'd do his best to serve the owners. Messrs Baillie has taken the cargo, but on no terms. Bills at 12, 15 & 18 months. The *Hare*s are so so, number small, as at foot. Likewise few old men & women. I have no prospect of an average to answer your expectations.

I never in my life experienced so much anxiety than from St Vincent to Grenada. The mate (James Hall) not contented with plundering the ship's stores but attempted to take the ship from me. By advice of the magistrates have sent him on board of a man of war. Had I prosecuted him for mutiny, it. would have detained the ship. Therefore I thought it bst to pay him his wages & man of war him. Have paid the full wages to this day. Should you have advanced money to his wife, his privilege Negro will reimburse you. Cannot get rice or the quantity of rum ordered. What I have got is very expensive.

[217] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on board the *Hester*[884] at Bonny, 9 October 1791-15 January 1792

Date of clearing from Bristol 8 August 1791
Date of arrival at Bonny 4 October 1791
190 tons

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883 The site of Fort Appollonia, on the western boundary of the Gold Coast, was an English trading post in the slave trade from 1691 onwards, though the fort was not constructed until 1768-70. Its surrounding area was productive in ivory, gold dust, a variety of grains, rice and various fruits and vegetables. Thomas Clarkson, *The Substance of the Evidence of Sundry Persons on the Slave Trade…*, reprinted in John Oldfield, ed., *The British Transatlantic Slave Trade. Volume 3. The Abolitionist Struggle: Opponents of the Slave Trade* (London, 2003), p. 303; Sparks, *Where the Negroes are Masters*, p. 248.

884 The *Hester*, John Langley captain, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 3 Aug. 1791, purchased 243 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 232 imputed slaves at Jamaica, and arrived back at Bristol on 3 July 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 186; voyage ID 18101 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Date	Males	Females	Boys	Girls
9 October 1791	0	2	0	0
10	0	1	0	0
12	0	1	0	1
13	1	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	0
23	1	0	0	0
24	0	1	0	0
25	0	0	0	1
27	0	1	0	1
30	0	1	0	0
31	0	1	0	0
2 November	1	0	0	0
3	0	1	0	0
4	0	1	0	0
5	1	0	0	0
10	1	0	0	0
14	0	0	1	0
15	0	0	0	1
16	2	0	0	0
17	2	1	0	0
18	0	2	0	0
19	3	0	0	0
20	0	0	1	0
21	0	1	0	0
25	0	2	0	0
28	4	3	0	0
29	2	6	0	0
30	1	8	0	0
1 December	3	17	0	0
3	0	1	0	0
4	2	0	0	0
5	2	0	0	0
6	0	6	0	0
7	2	2	0	0
10	6	12	0	0
11	0	1	0	1

12	1	2	0	0
14	1	2	0	0
15	3	4	0	0
16	2	2	1	0
17	5	4	0	0
25	1	0	0	0
26	1	0	0	0
27	0	1	0	1
11 January 1792	2	0	0	0
15	10	10	0	0
Total	67	99	3	5

Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage 8 males 3 females
Port Maria Jamaica 23 March 1792
Gives an account of landing 232 slaves which is more than the logbook gives an account of receiving in Africa
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 9 May 1792

[218] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, James Baillie, Jr, Grenada, to James Rogers Esquire & Co., Bristol, 23 October 1791, James Rogers Papers

When we wrote you the 2nd instant we were ignorant of Captain Laroche (in his arrival) having offered the *Daniel*s[885] cargo to our neighbours Messrs. Munro McFarlane & Dougall, for it was on the idea of serving you, & that we so fully possessed your confidence, of having a decided preference in the sale, of any of your vessels that might call here, that we undertook so disagreeable a task, as selling these slaves in the *Daniel*. Nor should we have been tempted to do it, on being allowed even 20 per cent for it is hardly possible to procure solid good purchasers for slaves of this description. Captain Laroche will without doubt report to you, how very averse he was even at Old Calabar, to take charge of such a miserable sett of people, on the Idea that they would not sell, so as to pay the expence of the voyage. In short it appears to us that they are the refuge of several cargo's & all they sell for (amount) £20 is far much more than they are intrinsically worth. 73 are sold at an average of £32. We shall be obliged to send upwards of 21 to vendue where they will sell for a trifle; the rest are infants so small, that no body will look at them.

The sale of this small cargo is so tedious that we have determined to land what remains at a house we have for the purpose, in order that Captain Laroche may get away. The vessel is nearly ready & we expect to dispatch her to the coast again, in all the ensuing week.

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885 The *Daniel*, Henry Laroche captain, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Bristol on 13 Mar. 1791, embarked 146 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked either 112 or 125 or 126 slaves at Grenada, and departed for Bristol on 2 Nov. 1791. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 183; voyage ID 18096 in www.slavevoyages.org.

We are sorry to be under the necessity of giving you all this unpleasant detail.

[219] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Samuel Richards, Barbados, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 28 October 1791, James Rogers Papers

The last letter I had the pleasure of writing you was the 26th September per the *Swallow*, Ellis and the *Lydia* Jackson via Liverpool, advising you of the safe arrival of your bark *Daniell*. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you of the safe arrival of your ship *Sarah*, Captain Goodrich this morning with 195 slaves having buried 35 slaves after a passage of 9 weeks from Bonny and seven weeks from Princess.[886] Captain Goodrich do not intend returning here but will proceed in the evening for Jamaica as there is no letters from you. He has drawn on you for £131 sterling in my favour being amount of his disbursements here. Captain Goodrich requests I will inform you that he left Captain Kimber fully slaved at New Callabar.

[220] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Samuel Richards, Barbados, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 29 October 1791, James Rogers Papers

The above I wrote you yesterday. Captain Goodrich did not intend embracing here as he was fearfull more detention and expense must follow from the behaviour of his officers & ships company during their passage from Africa. After Captain Goodrich had arrived such refreshments as his slaves required in which no time was lost in procuring he requested I would go on board with him to see him bear away and I consider it a very fortunate circumstance that I did, as I was witness to such a scene of mutiny that I thought was impossible for English sailors to commit. The boatswain at the head of thirteen men send the captain with the most dreadful threats to leave the bay and finding that all their threats were in vain and as then the vessel was under sail that the captain was determined on proceeding immediately for Jamaica, they in the mutinous manner let go the anchor, lowered the fore top sail, jib and stay sail[887] and swore as the vessel was near the shore that she with the cargo should all go in shore together sooner than they would suffer him to proceed on the voyage. In this state was your ship *Sarah* & cargo and I must add in great danger, particularly at the season when the winds are generally southerly.

At the request of Captain Goodrich I went on board the *Proserpine* frigate Captain [illegible] and requested them to send immediate assistance which they immediately complied with. Two boats with proper officers were immediately dispatched with me on board the *Sarah* where the crew had continued to act in the same mutinous manner, and finding that they still were resolute in their intentions it was thought advisable for them to be taken on board the frigate. On the men's leaving the ship they declared that the day before they made the land, the boatswain had proposed to them to chain the captain to his cabbin and to give the command of the *Sarah* to some other person. You are greatly indebted to the captain & offiers of the *Proserpine* frigate for their

886 Probably a reference to the island of Principe. The *Sarah*, John Goodrich master, James Rogers, John Goodrich, Sir James Laroche, John Purnell, Richard Fydell and Samuel Fydell, owners, left Bristol on 10 Mar. 1791, embarked 231 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked either 187 or 190 or 191 slaves in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 7 Feb. 1792. Richardson, ed. *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 197; voyage ID 18120 in www.slavevoyages.org.

887 A fore-and-aft rigged sail whose luff can be affixed to a stay.

ready and attentive assistance for it was near twelve o'clock at night before they brought the ship to an anchor in a place of safety. As all the men entered the next day for his Majesty's Service their wages was demanded and paid them and I have taken care to furnish Captain Goodrich with their accounts drawn out separate receipts and have made a full deduction for monthly notes agreeable to Captain Goodrich's books. Having shipped a few other people here, he proceeded this evening for Jamaica.

I a happy to say Captain Goodrich's attention to your interest during the time of this unpleasant business merits your kind approbation. Captain Goodrich has drawn another bill for £92 6s 6d sterling in my favour being the amount of wages advance money &c paid this day and he has been furnished with the particulars for your inspection.

You may rest assured I have cheerfully and prudently done everything in my power for your interest, not only in saving you every expense possible, but in preventing any delay, and I shall be happy to find my attention merits your approbation.

[221] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, James Baillie, Jr & Co., Grenada, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 31 October 1791, James Rogers Papers

Referring to our letter of 23rd instant of which the preceding is duplicate, we have now to inform you that we have closed the sale of the *Daniel*s cargo at an average of £26 3 8 which is exactly the £6 3 8 too much. We are reproached every day with some of the different parcels we sold. Many died in 24 hours. Six of them sold at vendue died immediately. In a word they were such a parcell that we never desire to see their like again & we should have availed ourselves immediately of rejecting this cargo had we known that they had been first refused by another house who knew their situation too well to be plagued with such a charge. However it is now over and we hope that on some future occasion a better parcel may be sent us more for your interest and on safety and credit.

We have furnished Captain Laroche with some rum say 20 puncheons & some flour & bread and he sails this day for the coast. The rum you'l observe is invoiced at 3/9 although he would have had 5/ for in cash. Indeed there is none for sale except these few puncheons which we had fortunately by us. And instead of taking Captain Laroche's bills for the amount of this small supply as per our agreement, we have carried the amount to the debit of the account current which we hope will convince you that we do all our business liberally.

We now hand you sales & account current balanced by our six setts of bills at 12 15 & 18 months sight in equal sums on John Campbell Esquire & Co. of Glasgow payable in London for £1,972 12 7 which with the amount of the invoice £348 17 5 and our commission on the remittance £98 12 8 makes up the sum of £2,420 2 8 sterling.

[222] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, Samuel Richards, Barbados, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 1 November 1791, James Rogers Papers

The inclosed I had the pleasure of writing you the 25th & 29th ultimo. This vessell being detained gives me an opportunity of advising you of the safe arrival of your ship *Crescent* Captain William Roper yesterday from Siera Leon with 236 slaves

having buried eight slaves in the passage, which has been thirty five days.[888] Not receiving any letters here he proceeded this evening for Jamaica. I am happy to say the cargo appears to be in good condition, and I hope will arrive to a good markett. Captain Roper has drawn on you for £25 8s. 4d. sterling amount of his disbursements here. There has been fine rains here all this year and there will no doubt be a very great crop made the next year. I think a small cargo of slaves say from 50 to 100 men & boys & women girls will to arrive here in February to March next make a great average and it will be well worth your attention to let some of our tenders drop their cargoes here, as I think from the appearance of the crop the planters will be bold in purchasing. Should you be disposed to try a cargo not exceeding that quantity I will in the sale as well as remittances do everything in my power for your Interest. I think it will be the most advantageous to the concern to have the cargo sold on the owners account as they will receive the advantages in the sales planters bills or produce as they may direct, and you may depend no care or attention shall be wanting to make the most of it for their Interest. Men boys & women girls are the best size for this island. It will always give me great pleasure to render you my services here.

[223] University of London Library, Special Collections, John Taylor,[889] Kingston, to Simon Taylor,[890] London, 29 November 1791, Simon Taylor Papers

I wrote you a very long letter the 5th instant a copy of which I now inclose. The October packet arrived a few days since, and I am much disappointed in not receiving any letter from you by that conveyance. My brother Robert mentioned in a letter I received from him that you was writing me at same time. I had no letter from Messrs Hibberts[891] & there is a great many of my friends who are equally disappointed with myself by not receiving letters by this packet from their correspondents in London which leaves little doubt that a bag of letters has either been sent on board another packet by mistake or been forgot at the post office. The September packet brought the mail for Halifax[892] to this island and I received by the October packet letters with the Post Office stamp 30th August which shows great neglect or confusion at the Post Office in London.

Since I wrote you the weather has become settled in this part of the country & altho a little wet still to windward, it is also pretty favourable there.

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888 The *Crescent,* William Roper master, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Thomas Walker owners, left Bristol on 19 Feb. 1791, embarked 244 imputed slaves at Iles de Los and the Sierra Leone estuary, and returned to Bristol on 9 Mar. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 182; voyage ID 18095 in www.slavevoyages.org.

889 He returned to London from Kingston in 1792 but still maintained a joint business firm in Kingston with his associates Ballantine & Fairlie. He was the nephew of Simon Taylor (n. 818). Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 546; Kenneth Morgan, 'Merchant networks, the guarantee system and the British slave trade to Jamaica in the 1790s,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 37, no. 2 (2016), p. 337.

890 A prominent Jamaican sugar planter. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 546; R. B. Sheridan, 'Simon Taylor, Sugar Tycoon of Jamaica, 1740-1813,' *Agricultural History*, 45, no. 4 (1971), pp. 285-96; Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2020), pp. 194-5

891 Robert, Thomas and John Hibbert were merchants in Kingston. Morgan, ed., *The Bright-Meyler Papers*, p. 540. They are central personages in Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World* (Manchester, 2019).

892 i.e. Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The Negroes at Lyssons[893] are become more healthy & I hope will soon be quite so. But I am very sorry to tell you there has been a very unusual number of deaths there within these few months. I find the loss is greater than I imagined when I last wrote you.

Soon after the date of my last letter a ship of James Jones's arrived here with 280 slaves from New Calabar consigned to me. Messrs Anderson's ship the *Duke of Buccleugh* arrived at same time with 350 slaves from Bence Island. I opened the sale of the eboe cargo the 21st instant & closed on the 24th making an average of £48 2/ sterling which I believe is equal to any ever made at the north side and greatly exceeds any before made of Eboe cargoes sold here. I opened the sale of Messrs Anderson's cargo the 22nd instant & there remains only a few slaves unsold. The average will be £45 sterling. The cargo of Mr Jones ship was greatly better than any I ever before sold and the sale gives good proof of it. The demand for negroes is so great I could have sold 1,000 prime slaves in a few days. Mr James Gairdner came over & picked out of the eboe cargo (before the sale) 16 men & 16 women for Montrose Pen[894] & Mr Walker at same time got 10 men for Mr Bayly's pen.[895] I then chose out 10 women from the *Duke of Buccleugh*'s cargo for your penn. The whole of these lots were very prime indeed. I could not allow a pick for Mount Pleasant[896] & Golden Grove[897] being uncertain whether or not the overseer would wish to have negroes at this time until I send him letters to my answers on that subject, which I did not until the day before the sale, and I durst not then allow any person to pick for fear of ruining the sale. Mr Graham got 20 Negroes for Mount Pleasant. There was 19 taken from the two sales for Golden Grove and Batchelor's Hall penn.[898]

[224] The National Archives, Kew, ADM 1/3810, Copy of a letter from James Rogers, Bristol, 10 January 1792

I received a letter from Captain John Smith Ship *Jupiter* dated Cape Coast Road 24 September 1791 of which the following is an extract: 'The palaver with the natives still unsettled, and very little prospect of it's being otherwise, the trade much divided, and so many died lately in the company's service, that there is scarcely whites enough remaining to take care of the fort. Messrs [illegible] & Halliday[899] and about twelve more officers have drop'd since the commencement of the palaver; there are few ships here, & little trade, and no sign of the palaver being settled until some men of

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893 In 1791 this property in St Thomas in the East, producing sugar and rum, was the property of Sir John Taylor, deceased. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/3263.

894 A livestock pen in St Mary parish, Jamaica, owned by Simon Taylor. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2661.

895 Probably a property belonging to Nathaniel Bayly (1726-98), a wealthy plantation owner in Jamaica. He died with an estate valued at £1,117,860. 'Nathaniel Bayly.' https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638579; Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2020), p. 260 n. 53

896 A sugar and rum estate in Portland parish, Jamaica. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/estate/view/3286.

897 A sugar estate in St Thomas-in-the-East parish, Jamaica. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estates/.

898 The remainder of the letter is omitted because it has nothing about the slave trade.

899 The *Jupiter*, John Smith master, James Rogers, Richard Fydell and Sir James Laroche owners, left Bristol on 30 Sept. 1790, embarked 299 imputed slaves at Anomabu, disembarked 271 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 23 Mar. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 169; voyage ID 18074 in www.slavevoyages.org.

war are sent out.'

[225] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on board the *Daniel*[900] at Calabar, 15 February-17 March 1792

Date	Males	Females
7 February 1792	15	22
8	2	1
9	1	
21	10	5
24	18	15
29	12	7
6 March	22	1
10	30	7
17	19	17

Number died
February 18 1 male
Calabar 18 March 1792
Number died on the Middle Passage 24 male 15 female
Martha Brae 27 May 1792
Number landed and sold in ditto port 104 men 67 women
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 4 July 1792

900 The *Daniel*, Henry Laroche and John Langdon captains, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Grenada on 2 Nov. 1791, embarked 211 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 171 imputed slaves at Martha Brae, and arrived at Bristol on 2 Sept. 1792. Voyage ID 18280 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[226] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on board the *Brothers*[901] on a voyage from Bristol to Bonny and Jamaica, 24 February-16 May 1792

Date	Slaves[902]
4 March 1792	20
5	5
6	2
8	3
9	1
11	4
12	2
14	2
15	3
16	1
17	1
18	3
19	2
20	3
22	3
23	2
25	2
27	2
28	1
29	11
31	1
1 April	2
2	5
4	5
5	1
7	1
9	1
15	3
19	13

901 The *Brothers*, Joseph Williams master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 18 Dec. 1791, embarked 287 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 250 or 253 slaves at Lucea, and returned to Bristol on 25 Sept. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 181; voyage ID 18093 in www.slavevoyages.org.

902 At the bottom of the table is the note 'the logbook does not distinguish the slaves.'

20	18
21	9
22	11
23	1
24	8
26	6
27	2
28	1
1 May	4
2	4
3	1
5	1
9	14
10	24
11	30
12	14
15	34

Total 287
Number that died from the ship's arrival on the coast until her departure

Date	Men	Women	Boys
25 March 1792		1	
30 April	1		
12 May			1
13	1		
16	1		

Bonny 18 May 1792
Number of slaves died on the Middle Passage 17 Men 11 Women 2 Boys 2 Girls
Jamaica 6 July 1792
No account of the numbers landed and sold.
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 2 August 1792

[227] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/7, James Baillie, Jr, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 4 April 1792, James Rogers Papers

Your much esteemed favour of the 11th January acknowledging receipt of our remittance for the *Daniel*'s cargo has but just reached us. We have only in justification of our markets for Calabar Negroes being so bad, to say, that prime healthy slaves from any other part of the coast sell as well we believe in this island as anywhere to windward & it would have afforded us much pleasure to have had an opportunity of

furnishing you with the sales of a cargo of that description at this moment. We have just sold a cargo of slaves from Gambia at the high average of £44 3 sterling every slave included.

Captain Laroche has made a swift return with your ship *Swift*.[903] He did not think proper to give us any offer of his cargo; but sat down directly with our neighbours Messrs Munro & Co. who were wise enough to refuse having anything to say to so bad a cargo as the *Daniel*s last year, though from the particular & pressing wish of Captain Laroche we attempted the sale after they had positively declined it.

[228] Bodleian Library, Oxford, James Jones & Co., Bristol, to Captain David Williams, 7 April 1792, MS Eng.Misc.b.44

We continue you in the command of our ship *Alfred*[904] on her present voyage to Africa. You are to repair on board with your ship's company not exceeding 32 in the whole and get to sea without delay and proceed to Annamaboe where I expect you will find my ship *Lovely Lass*.[905] You are to deliver the goods for her bill of loading to Captain John Wade Robinson. This done, make all possible dispatch to New Callabar where you are to dispose of your cargoe amounting to £7,500 0s 0d. and making 49894 barrs to the best advantage for young healthy slaves, elephants' teeth & palm oil. Your cargoe is laid in for 350 slaves besides a surplus for elephants' teeth set by the act of parliament.[906] You must have on board but 335 when you leave the coast unless you have more than 2/5ths under 4 feet 4 inches. For all under that size more than 2/5ths you are allowed to reckon 5 of that description as equal to grown slaves. Your cargoe is an exceedingly good one and in it a very great expense and ought to purchase many more slaves than the ship can take, if disposed of with prudence, which I expect and desire you will do. And not comply with any extravagant demand of the traders but use your utmost endeavors to keep the prices down. In case you find any other captain inclined to advance, I desire you will expostulate to him on the bad effects of it and give him assurances that you will not advance. By these means only you may expect to make a good purchase.

With your surplus cargoe buy what elephants' teeth you can to advantage and the remainder deliver over to the ship *Thomas*[907] for the like number of India bafts but not

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903 The *Swift*, John Langdon and Henry Laroche masters, James Rogers owner, embarked 380 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 223 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 15 May 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 198; voyage ID 18122 in www.slavevoyages.org.

904 The *Alfred*, James Jones, Thomas Deane, Richard Stratton, Thomas Rigge and Edward Watkins owners, David Williams captain, left Bristol on 5 May 1792, embarked 326 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 317 imputed slaves at Montego Bay, and arrived back at Bristol on 19 Jan. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 204; voyage ID 18131 in www.slavevoyages.org.

905 The *Lovely Lass*, James Jones owner, John Wade Robinson, left Bristol on 3 Jan. 1792, embarked 416 imputed slaves at Cape Lahou, Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 411 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 29 July 1794. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 217; voyage ID 18149 in www.slavevoyages.org.

906 A reference to Dolben's Act (1788), which set limits on the number of slaves a ship could carry in relation to a ship's tonnage.

907 The *Thomas*, Thomas Phillips master, James Jones and Edward and John Watkins owners, left Bristol on 19 June 1792, embarked 368 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 337 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 3 Aug. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 228; voyage ID 18170 in www.slavevoyages.org.

quite so fine in quality. The whole success of the voyage will depend on your taking the slaves healthy to ship. I therefore desire you will be particularly carefull to take no old or ordinary slaves. Avoid as much as possible taking any under four feet. As it frequently happens that they have slow fevers, when you first take them on board from the fatigue of travelling take proper measures to [illegible] as they come on board, and after when their appetite begins to be good, bring them to eat beans, which will keep them hearty & well. Be carefull to get good water and to preserve it well. Do not suffer them to use any that is put into casks that have had spirits in preserve the health as that always turns sour and has a bad effect on their bowels. Make them cheerful & happy and do not suffer them to be beat or ill used by your people. See that they are always kept clean and sleep comfortably. It is absolutely necessary that good harmony subsists between yourself and officers, for unless you put confidence in them and they in you, nothing can go on well. I also desire you will explain & communicate to your chief mate & doctor what you pay for the slaves that in case of sickness to yourself or any other accident the purchase may not be stopped.

It is our particular instructions that you are attentive to preserve the health of your ship's company, and that they are served with provisions agreeable to the act of parliament. Whilst on the coast use the sein nett to procure fish for them as often as possible and that you take in yams for their use on the Middle Passage to serve as a substitute for flour & when those articles become bad, which will preserve them from the scurvy. You will also see that they always sleep in hummocks under cover for which purpose you have a surplus number to preserve for the Middle Passage that they may not sleep about in the boats or on the wet decks which brings on disorders which must inevitably communicate to the slaves. In short, you are bound by duty as well as humanity to take care of and preserve the health of your ship's company.

When you have disposed of your cargoe and completed your purchase, which I would have you do with all expedition as you may expect slave ships will be following you and the less time the slaves are on board the better. You are to proceed immediately to Barbados where you will find my orders lodged with Philip Lytcott Esquire. We recommend to you frugality, diligence and dispatch in every transaction throughout the voyage but more especially while you are slaving. Advise us constantly of your proceedings by every opportunity for our government what articles are most in demand. It is our positive order that no elephants teeth shall be brought on board our ship but what are for the owner's use. Neither will we permit adventures of any kind to be brought on board our ship by yourself your officers and ship's company either here or from the coast under any pretence whatsoever under forfeiture of the whole of your priviledge & wage. You will on every occasion render every assistance in your power to the captains of all our ships by consulting together.

In consideration of your following these our orders and what other you may receive and rendering us a true and honest account of your trade and our ships stores of every kind, but on no other terms, we agree to pay you five pounds per month wages and for your priviledge four pounds out of every one hundred & four pounds on the net sale of your cargoe. Your chief mate is to have two priviledge slaves clear on the average sale of the cargo. Your doctor is to have one slave clear on the average sale of the cargo and one shilling currency per head on every slave sold on the owner's account. Your ship's company's wages as per portledge bill.[908]

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908 This was a list of crew.

In case of your mortality which God grant may not be the case, we do appoint your chief mate Mr John Hurd to succeed you and so on in succession and to follow these our orders.

We wish you health, a prosperous voyage & safe return to your friends.

[229] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, John Cunningham, Montego Bay, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 20 April 1792, James Rogers Papers

The enclosed is a copy of which I wrote you the 3d instant. The sale of the *Ruby*s cargo was the 11th instant. I sold 129 slaves the average £43 sterling. Considering the cargo it was more than I expected. There were 45 boys & girls under 4 feet 4 Inches many not more than 8 or 9 years of age. I had plenty of purchasers and sold the first choice at £75 & duty for males & females then the next £70 for males & 368 for females many of the small ones at 355 & thereabouts. The particulars & sales are ready & will be transmitted by the *Ruby*. She will sail about the 1 May – and have orderd ten hogsheads sugar & 30 puncheons rum to be shippd on her on your account. Value, will be about one thousand pounds sterling. This is as much as I can afford to ship out of the sales and indeed I am apprehensive you will think with me that it is too much at the present price. No sugar is selling under 75/ per cwt & rum is now 4/6 expected to rise. For my own part I cannot think it will be a saving remittance at these prices. Many thinks otherwise & are purchasing freely. The remaining thirty slaves I sold for £1260 currency.

It was not my intention to sell African cargoes until a year or two since and I wrote Mr McGhee of this determination. However as the *Ruby* arrived & consigned to me my friends on this side urged me to go on. Under this advice I shall have no objection to sell 500 or 600 slaves for you, but those from Bennin & Bonny have always a preference at this market. I shall draw on Messrs Robert & Joseph Ingrams for the *Ruby*s cargo.

P.S. I spoke frequently to Captain Kennedy to write you which I understand he has not done since his arrival. He promises to write by a brig which sails from Martha Brae in a few days.

[230] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on the *Betsey* at Bonny, 27 May-8 July 1792[909]

Date	Male	Female
2 June 1792	1	3
3	1	2
4	1	0
5	0	2
6	1	4

909 The *Betsey*, John Spencer master, Henry K. Hunter and Robert Hunter owners, left Bristol on 19 Mar. 1792, embarked 248 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 226 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 8 Nov. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 205; voyage ID 18133 in www.slavevoyages.org.

7	1	1
8	2	1
10	0	2
11	1	0
12	49	43
13	27	21
14	8	6
15	10	4
17	8	4
18	1	0
19	0	2
20	4	1
21	2	3
22	2	0
23	6	1
24	3	2
2 July	1	2
3	0	2
5	4	1
6	0	3
7	3	0
8	1	0
	137	110

Number died
4 July 1 male
7 July 1 male
Total 2
Total number 247 - 245
Bonny River 14 July 1792
Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage
Male 16 female 7
Grenada 31 August 1792
Gives no account of the number of slaves sold
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 29 September 1792

[231] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, William Stewart, Iles de Los, to James Rogers, Bristol, 8 June 1792, James Rogers Papers

I had an opportunity to write you the next day after my arrival at Sierra Leone which was the 19th April and three weeks after I was very happy in having the schooner arrive which I had all most given over for lost. It gives me pleasure to inform you

that I have purchas'd 56 slaves at Sierra Leone from which place Captain Walker in the *Recovery* and myself sailed and arrived here in my way to the Bannanoes the 28th May. I am rather unfortunate within this week past my people the most part of them have got sick. Mr Henry Fitz Simmons my first mate I buryed yesterday and this day I buryed John Hall seaman. Every one of my officers doctor and all is down besides 7 of the people which has made me give over all thoughts of going to the Bannanoes for the present with the brig. My intention is that as soon as second mate Mr Thomas is so far recoverd as to be able to take charge of the vessel here, I will then take on board the schooner *Experiment* to the amount of about 10 or 12 slaves goods and go with her myself to the Bannonas where I am in hopes to be able to do some business since I have been here have purchased 37 slaves and sold the schooner for 7 more to be deliverd on my quitting the coast which I am afraid will not be till about the 10 September as I find the River Kissie[910] its trade being quite done for some years past, which I had great dependence on for my purchase. However, I have no doubt but I shall do very well in the Bannanoes.

It's a great misfortune that I had not arrived on the coast two months sooner which would have enabled me to have saild for the West Indies before this tme. I find I am rather short of guns, powder, rum and tobacco, with many other light bars to mix with my heavy ones. However take it altogether I am in hopes to be able to make a pretty good purchase. The trade in all the places hereabout is so much altered since my time that I am quite astonished. Slaves now selling for 160 bars to the natives when I bought them formerly for 85. Captain Walker saild from here for the River Gambia the 3rd instant is much hurt in not having a vessel out to him with goods before this time. He is in hopes to be back again in about 6 weeks. You will receive this by a schooner that sails from here this evening for the West Indies. I thank God I have kept my health very well ever since since my arrival. The vessel is just now getting under sail so that I must conclude.

[232] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Hammett Forsyth, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 June 1792

By this conveyance inform you of the death of my good commander who departed the 14 day of May after a short illness.[911] All care and attention was paid during the time and every ship here but to no effect. Since the unhappy situation I then was left in with 389 slaves and board and only 7 men able to watch the deck. Waited on the principle traders of this place who protest great friendship for me knowing my father & brother and have now the happiness to inform now they have continued it hitherto.

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910 The River Kissi, flowing out to the Sierra Leone coast, was a favoured location for slave trade agents in the later eighteenth century. Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool Ascendant: British Merchants and the Slave Trade on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1701-1808' in Lovejoy and Schwarz, eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, pp. 35, 37.

911 Hammett Forsyth took over as captain of *The African Queen* after the death of the original captain, Samuel Stribling. Forsyth himself died on 1 Oct. 1792 and a third captain died at sea. The ship's voyage began at Bristol on 16 Jan. 1792. It bought slaves at Old Calabar, though the number is disputed, and disembarked 213 or 214 slaves at Montego Bay after heavy mortality on the Middle Passage. The ship returned to Bristol on 11 Mar. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 203; voyage ID 18129. Documents relating to subsequent voyages of the *African Queen*, July 1792-May 1793 are reproduced in Audra A. Diptee, *From Africa to Jamaica: The Making of an Atlantic Slave Society, 1775-1807* (Gainesville, FL, 2010), pp. 119-38.

Since my late commander, have purchased 238 slaves and with the former 38[912] 276, on trust paid for 149. The complement of purchased now amounts to 425. Have stopt trade 11 days being greatly in want of the tender *Fame* and having no assortment of cloths. If she arrives will dispatch this immediately having wood &c necessary for her. There is now laying here four large ships then the [illegible] two of which are from Liverpool (the *Perseverance*[913] and *Kitty*[914]) and in opposition of each other owing to some disputes of their owners the other two are French and neither have 259 slaves on board. In my opinion this river will not be worth trading to more than two or three years every ship exceeding in their coomey and gives dashes to only one man (the Duke) to the amount of £90 sterling and are now giving from 200 to 220 coppers per slave. I have not as yet given more than 170 but am fearful when the *James*[915] arrives shall be oblidged to raise ten coppers more.

We have had a great dispute with the Ecracock people[916] concerning palm oil. They insisted having three crews salt for one which would not answer purchasing. At last we have brought them to and yesterday purchased twenty puncheons of oil two for one. It grieves me to see so fine a schooner as the *Dragon* laying in this river & idle. If I could get redwood enough I shall be tempted to send her home with oil ivory & wood not knowing on what island she came on, but shall wait the event of your letters per *Fame* wishing hourly of the account of her arrival. Having so many slaves on board & being new yam season dare not give them any on account of the flux and the old yam only two per coppers. Your prescription for the worm it is very good but the dose must be double and would recommend it for every ship in your employ to take the same with them having tried the same a few days with a number of the slaves and had the desired effect almost immediately both ways alive and no sickness attended in it. Am at last oblidged to acquaint of the mortality of people having buried 9 white 8 black & surgeon has been ill & not able to do anything since leaving Bristol. His mate is clever requires but great attention in doing his duty & Mr Davis master to the schooner has been very ill but am in great hopes of him, he being the principle officer I have now & Mr Sanders as cannot put any depandance in. Mr Long has been sick a long time but now on the recovery likewise a number of the people. Having nothing more particular to inform at present but remain your dutiful servant.

Captain Samuel Stribling, William Stephens, John McKenley Thomas Harvey David Airs Martin Gibson Henry Watts W Rankin Sam Ames buried & 5 men 2

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912 The syntax here is awkward: this refers to 38 slaves purchased by the late captain to add to the 238 bought by Forsyth.

913 The *Perseverance*, Thomas Jolly master replaced by William Hewitt, Thomas Earle, Francis Holland, Joseph Caton, William Earle, Ralph Fisher, John Smale, William Molyneux, Edward Molyneux, Thomas Jolly owners, left Liverpool on 2 Mar. 1792, embarked 332 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 304 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 29 Mar. 1793. Voyage ID 83064 in www.slavevoyages.org.

914 The *Kitty*, William Stringer master, Thomas Leyland, Thomas Molyneux, owners, left Liverpool on 12 Feb. 1792, embarked 244 imputed slaves at Congo River, disembarked 241 at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 18 Sept. 1792. Voyage ID 82185 in www.slavevoyages.org.

915 The *James*, Matthew Morley master, James Jones & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1791 for Africa. The vessel was condemned in Africa on 8 Mar. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 187.

916 Ecracock families at Old Calabar sold slaves to British slaving vessels. Stephen D. Behrendt, A.J.H. Latham and David Northrup, eds., *The Diary of Antera Duke: An Eighteenth-Century African Slave Trader* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 25, 62.

women & 1 boy slaves.

Please to excuse the haste this ship sailing in 1 hours notice.

[233] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Case of the ship *Pearl*, July 1792

The ship *Pearl*[917] sailed from the port of Bristol in July 1792 on a voyage to the coast of Africa, and was well fitted for the voyage as will appear by the amount of the following notes viz.

Ship carpenter's notes	£748 6s. 11d.
Smith's ditto	£196 18s. 3d.
Rope makers ditto	£253 7s. 3d.
Sail makers ditto	£346 0s. 11d.
	£1544 13s. 4d.

The whole amount of the outset being £3260 17s. 10d. to which add the ship valued at £1509 0s. Ship & outset £4760 17s. 10d.

The ship made her purchase of slaves in Bonny River and proceeded to the West Indies. In the latitude of Barbados she met with bad weather & carried away her foremast &c. The ship put into Barbados, & there the captain sold his cargoe of slaves, got a new foremast & refitted his ship for the voyage home, the expences of which amounts to £1037 17s. 8d. sterling as will appear by William Barton's charge & disbursements for Barbados. The ship sailed from Barbados to Bristol, and in a few days after proved leaky. The captain put into Antigua & there the ship is condemned. This being the true & precise state of the facts respecting the ship *Pearl*, the assignees conceive that as the underwriters knew as much as they did, had an advanced premium for her standing bad in their register book, & no circumstance being concealed from them; they (the assignees) think themselves sufficiently warranted to bring an action against the underwriters, if they persist in not paying the loss.

[234] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/10, Samuel Galton,[918] Birmingham, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 15 June 1792, James Rogers Papers

We are favoured with your Mr Rogers's of the 12th & have the pleasure to observe that part of the guns for the *Crescent* (Captain Roper) have been already deliverd, that 23 Renonas & 75 Walnut Buccaneers were sent herefrom the 2nd & that to compleat his orders we shall send 200 stores No. 0 per the next Spring of all of which shall duly advise. And as Mr Rogers approved of our supplying Mr Fitzhenry's ship *Friendship* next, we have already sent part of his cargo & intend to send the remander except some Bonny musquets which we have assigned him reasons why we can't supply or get any other gunmaker to sell us some for that purpose. There was 455 proof tower

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917 The *Pearl*, John Simmons and – Thornbury masters, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Bristol on 28 July 1792, embarked 400 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 200 imputed slaves at Barbados, and was laid up in the Americas. As this letter notes, the ship was condemned in Antigua. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 222; voyage ID 18157 in www.slavevoyages.org.

918 A member of a prominent gunmaking family in Birmingham that was a longstanding supplier of arms for the slave trade. See document no. 103.

short sent for the *Rodney* to be ship'd in the *Fame* of which have sent 105 & what more that are wanted for that ship will be mostly sent on Saturday next.

The guns for the *Sarah*, not all of them can be supplied the next Spring altho most of them are in the workmen's hands, who are much indisposed to work on breech guns as now the Bonny ships take more than 2/3 of best of walnut proof guns & musquetoons & not 1/3 of Bonny musquets which renders it impossible for us to make ourselves or buy them off any other gunmakers. Of course Captain Simmonds must abate very much in his demand of Bonny musquets, but by the Spring after next we will do all we possibly can. We shall send tomorrow some proof black Spanish and walnut proof Spanish, the 24 brass musquetoons & 800 cutlasses, it being an object with us to strain every nerve for the completion of your orders.

[235] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/10, Samuel Galton & Son, Birmingham, to Messrs. Rogers & Co., Bristol, 23 June 1792, James Rogers Papers

We have repeatedely written you that the difficulty we find with the workmen in regard to finishing Bonny Musquets is insurmountable for that they will not finish them unless with double the quantity of walnut guns which seems to be generally the proportion of the orders from Liverpool & we have sent many of the Bonny musquets made for them, which disqualifies us from sending the quantity you require but by the next and following Spring we will send all we possibly can.

We have now to acknowledge the favor of your order for the ship *Swift*,[919] to be ready by the middle of August. This order requires good materials & workmanship of course will take a longer time in the completion. You will therefore believe us when we say it shall meet our utmost attention.

[236] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/10, Samuel Galton & Son, Birmingham, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 27 June 1792, James Rogers Papers

You know how we are controuled by our workmen & harassed on every side you would make great allowances for us. The 50 No. 0 & 25 fowling pieces for the *Crescent*[920] which is all that remains to be supplied we expect to send on Saturday. On Saturday we shall advise of all that we can find for the ship *Pearl,*[921] the *Friendship*[922]

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919 The *Swift*, John Kennedy and William Roper captains, James Rogers owner, left Bristol on 30 Nov. 1792, embarked 127 imputed slaves at Iles de Los, disembarked 124 imputed slaves at Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 30 Sept. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 228; voyage ID 18169 in www.slavevoyages.org.

920 The *Crescent*, William Roper and John Kennedy masters, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Bristol on 10 July 1792, embarked 273 imputed slaves at Iles de Los and Rio Nunez, disembarked either 265, 266 or 267 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 3 Sept. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 206; voyage ID 18134 in www.slavevoyages.org.

921 The *Pearl*, John Simmons and - Thornbury masters, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Bristol on 28 July 1792, embarked 400 imputed slaves at Bonny, and disembarked 200 imputed slaves at Barbados. On its homeward voyage it put into Antigua in distress and was broken up there. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 222; voyage ID 18157 in www.slavevoyages.org.

922 The *Friendship*, William Hutcheson and John Simpson masters, Patrick Fitzhenry and James Rogers owners, left Bristol on 8 July 1792, embarked 243 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 206 or 208 slaves at Montego Bay, and returned to Bristol on 17 June 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 211; voyage ID 18141 in www.slavevoyages.org.

and the *Sarah*[923] and *Rodney*.[924] We sent to Mr Whateley agreeable to our promise to Captain Simmons to give him half the order of the *Pearl* but he like us could not effect it. We entreat you not to wait for our difficulties accumulate upon us. We are every day declining orders.

The order for the *Swift* tho we wish to supply it we do not undertake it in any limited time merely from *the fear of disappointing* you. What guns we can possibly get towards them, we will, but by no means to prevent your trying elsewhere. We have offended some of our oldest friends at Liverpool by sparing the last guns to you.

We are thankful for your favors & there is no house we shall be more happy to supply. We offered a gunmaker yesterday the full price at which we should sell you for guns for you. It is nothing but the circumstance of impossibility that prevents our fulfilling your favors which when we can execute we shall rejoice to receive.

[237] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, Edward Taylor[925] to James Rogers, Bristol, 2 July 1792, James Rogers Papers

I wrote you last the 2nd June by the ship *Isabella*, Captain Taylor of London and now write by the Ship *Mentor* of London Captain Brand. I've to inform you I've above 60 slaves on board all healthy and have purchased more only for want of India bafts in the stead of my India byrampauts which are scarcely looked on. However will purchase as many slaves as possible, get what wax &c I can, and make as quick returns as possible leaving my remains if any in good secure hands and endeavour with your approbation to make a better assortment for another voyage.

The present season of the year the rains come on is very unhealthy. All our ships company have been ill, out of which Mr Jones, 2nd mate, Mr Ewin 3rd mate, John Dixon surgeon & M. Jemison seaman are no more. Of us more remaining ill but are recovering. I am very well myself thank God. Captain Wilcox arrived here some time since. I've not seen him but rec'd newspapers by him which informed me of the abolishion of the slave trade.[926]

[238] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, Robert Peak, Bance Island, to James Rogers, Bristol, 18 July 1792, James Rogers Papers

I arrive at the Island of Bananas on the 6 of February all well and finding that Captain

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923 The *Sarah*, James Crean Hunt and William Blake masters, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche, Richard Fydell, John Goodrich, Richard Blake, John Purnell owners, left Bristol on 6 Oct. 1792, embarked 154 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 137 or 140 slaves at Kingston, and was shipwrecked or destroyed afterwards. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 227; voyage ID 18167 in www.slavevoyages.org.

924 The *Rodney*, William Blake and J. C. Hunt masters, James Rogers owner, left Bristol on 14 June 1792, embarked 374 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 343 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 1 Oct. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 224; voyage ID 18162 in www.slavevoyages.org.

925 The *Mermaid*, James Mulling and Edward Taylor masters, James Rogers owner, left Bristol on 10 Apr. 1792, embarked 159 imputed slaves in Gambia, disembarked 128 or 129 slaves in Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 11 Jan. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 219; voyage ID 18152 in www.slavevoyages.org.

926 In Apr. 1792 the House of Commons passed a motion for the abolition of the slave trade. However, Henry Dundas's plan for gradual abolition delayed its passage for fifteen years. Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London, 1975), p. 315.

Walker was saild with a cutter for Gambia and the Bark *Recovery* for Bence Island in the river of Sierra lion: he having orders at the Bananas if I should arrive for me to proceed to Bence Island which on the 8th of February I arrive finding the *Recovery* with only 24 slaves on board. Captain Walker is expected every day. Since my arrival my surgeon has taken the opportunity in running from the ship without any reason: I always treated him with the greatest kindness: but I find he is going home passenger in a ship from Sierra Lion. I went on shore at Sierra Lion to demand him but the settlers would not suffer me to take him off: as they deemed it a free town.[927] The doctor of the *Recovery* is now dead. The People at Sierra lion is [illegible] like another ship every day the slave upwards of 300 sick at this time on the settlement.

[239] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1108, Slaves loaded on the *Thomas*[928] at Bonny, 25 August-16 December 1792

Date	Male	Female
25 August 1792	4	6
26	2	3
27	2	3
28	1	2
1 September	13	14
2	2	3
3		1
4		1
5	1	2
9	5	8
10	5	
11	2	2
12	1	1
17	2	4
21	1	
22		1
25	5	3
26	5	2

927 Freetown was formed in Sierra Leone in 1787 as the capital of a new model settlement that would be populated by former slaves able to demonstrate their economic independence. The Sierra Leone Company took control of the settlement in 1791. Paul E. Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz, 'Sierra Leone in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' in Lovejoy and Schwarz eds., *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism*, pp. 2, 3, 5.

928 The *Thomas*, Thomas Phillips master, James Jones, Edward Watkins and John Watkins owners, left Bristol on 19 June 1792, embarked 368 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 337 or 340 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 3 Aug. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 228; voyage ID 18170 in www.slavevoyages.org.

29	3	6
October[929] 3	6	7
4	2	1
6	3	3
11	1	5
12	1	1
16	1	1
19	2	
20		2
21	4	6
27	2	8
29	2	1
November 1	1	
2	1	1
4	2	1
5	2	1
6	1	1
7		1
8	1	2
9	1	
11	1	1
12	9	7
13	2	4
14	1	4
16	1	
19		1
20	4	7
21	2	2
23	6	4
24	1	1
28	7	12
29		2
30	4	2
December 1	4	2
3	3	

929 The manuscript gives ‘August’ but it should be ‘October.’

5	2	4
6	8	6
7	9	8
8	1	3
10	16	20
14	6	
15	1	2
16	7	6

Number died

Date	Male	Female
October 27	1	
30		1
November 14	1	
24	1	
29	1	
December 14	1	
17	2	
18	1	
21	3	
22		1
24	2	

Bonny 25 December 1792
Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage
17 men 13 women 1 boy
Kingston 27 February 1793
Number of slaves landed and sold in the above port 150 men 187 women
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 15 June 1793

[240] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Edward Taylor, on board the ship *Mermaid*, 27 August 1792, James Rogers Papers

These 24 Hours light winds and fair weather at daylight sent our boats with four black men a wooding. At 10 a.m. our carpenter went down into the mens room to put up a stantion to prevent the slaves from breaking the main gratings and having almost finished, the men slaves lose on him and took the sledge maul from him not withstanding a centinel being placed over the mens gratings with a loaders pistol in his hand to protect the carpenter in his duty. At the same time about seventy men slaves being in the room double iron with three chains rove through the bolts at the same time the slaves violently breaking their irons and chains by the assistance of

the maul by which time the other vessels in the river was alarmed and came to our assistance. Having at the same time only seven white men & boys on board belonging to the ship was obligd to fire our small arms among them through the ports & down the gratings. Permiscuously without any purpose they still persisting and trying to break the bulk head down but could not on which they repaired to the fore scuttle which they forced and went below and hauled up several spare sails and barracaded the ports with the slaves still endeavour to break this the fore peak bulk head into the hold.

At this time having no other means to save the ship we was oblig'd to throw powder among them and blow several of them up they still persisting to break into the hold and say'd they would not give out as long as anyone was living among them. After a long parley we was oblig'd to blow them up the second time, they still refusing to give it up. We then sent six of the natives down with cutlasses on which they surrendered and we immediately got them on deck and found about thirty burnt & wounded. Drest their wounds and secured the whole below. Found many of the sails burnt.

August 28 1792 Four of the burnt slaves died
29 Four ditto
30 Two ditto
31 Two ditto
September 1 One ditto
2 One ditto
9 Two ditto
19 One ditto
22 One ditto
24 One ditto
Nineteen in the whole

Bristol August 1793 The above is true copy from the Ship *Mermaid* Log Book

[241] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, Munro McFarlane, Grenada, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 4 September 1792, James Rogers Papers

On the second instant your ship *Fame* Captain Jenkins[930] arrived here from Old Callabar with about 133 slaves. We went on board at his request to examine the cargo & are very sorry to inform you, we scares ever saw so bad a one even from that part of the coast. Whether they have lost their best slaves, or whatever may be the cause of it, we can assure you there is not at present one good slave in the ship. Under these circumstances it is not surprizing if we wished to have nothing to do with the cargo,

930 The *Fame*, William Jenkins master, James Rogers & Co. owners, left Bristol in 1792, purchased slaves at Old Calabar, sold them at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 15 Nov. 1792. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 208. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18138 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers, Sir James Laroche, Richard Fydell and Thomas Walker. The vessel left Bristol on 15 Apr. 1792, embarked 200 imputed slaves at Calabar and disembarked 135 imputed slaves at Grenada.

but Captain Jenkins having tried the other houses you had guarantees[931] for, and they having positively refused to take him up. We have promised to dispose of the cargo as well as we can & have advertised the sale for the 14th instant, though you must by no means be disappointed if they make a very poor average. Nothing but our respect for you, and considering it as a piece of duty to take the bad cargoes as well as the good of the Houses who favour us with their business, could have induced us to have anything to say to the cargo. But the cruelty of sending the slaves off in the state they were in to Jamaica the only market they could get to also weighed with us. We however hope you will send us one or two of your good Bonny or Windward Ships, to make up for the disagreeable business we have now undertaken to serve you.

We have just finished the sale of two Angola Cargoes of 700 slaves & they average upwards of £44.10s. for every slave.

[242] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on the *Friendship* at Calabar, 6 September-14 December 1792[932]

Date	Male	Female
16 September 1792	0	1
24	6	6
27	1	0
29	2	1
2 October	3	13
5	4	4
10	4	8
15	2	0
16	1	0
18	3	6
19	5	7
22	1	0
26	12	0
3 November	7	0
11	3	7
12	6	4
19	1	0

931 Wealthy British slave merchants sometimes guaranteed to pay factors' bills presented for slave payments. This was usually sorted out before a slave trading voyage began. Kenneth Morgan, 'Merchant networks, the guarantee system, and the British slave trade to Jamaca in the 1790s,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 37, no. 2 (2016), pp. 334-52.

932 The *Friendship*, William Hutcheson and John Simpson masters, Patrick Fitzhenry and James Rogers owners, left Bristol on 8 July 1792, embarked 243 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked 208 imputed slaves at Montego Bay, and returned to Bristol on 17 June 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 211; Voyage ID 18141 in www.slavevoyages.org.

21	2	0
22	1	1
27	2	4
30	2	1
2 December	2	1
3	5	7
5	7	4
6	1	8
7	1	1
8	4	0
9	10	0
13	12	6
15	8	8
21	12	7
	130	113

Total 243
8
235
Callabar 22 December 1792
Number died in the Middle Passage 8 male 10 female
Montego Bay 9 March 1793
Number of slaves landed & sold in the above port 206 slaves
Date of clearing out for Bristol 9 April 1793

[243] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, Sales of 126 Negroes received from the ship *Fame*, William Jenkins master, from Old Calabar on account of James Rogers Esquire & Co., merchants in Bristol, Grenada, 25 September 1792, James Rogers Papers

25 September 1792	Purchasers	Number of Negroes	average £30 sterling
	Julian Cussan & J. Isert	104 @ £35 sterling	£3640
	Sarah Johnson	1	£23.2 currency
	Stephen Munro	1 very thin & sickly	40.19.11
	at public vendue	20	185.1
	[Total]	126	250@180 exchange £140 sterling
			£3,780

Captain Jenkins 1 slave at average	£30
Doctor Arnold 1 ditto & head money 1/currency	33.10
Our commission on sales 5 per cent	189
Hire of vessels advertising sales & yard hire & 1/ sterling per head	28 6
Cash paid sundries per account £130 13 4 @180 each	72 11 10
Sundries from Munro & Co. £4 2 6 @ ditto	2 5 10
Captain Jenkins commission 2 per 102 on £3424 6 4	67 2 10

Our commission on sum remitted 5 per cent 159 17
6 682 14
Amount carried to account current £3,197 6
Errors excepted
Grenada 25 September 1792
Munro McFarlane & Co.

[244] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on the *Roman Emperor* at Bonny, 18 October 1792-1 February 1793[933]

Date of clearing out 6 August 1792
Tons 273
Date of arrival on the coast & what port Bonny 18 October 1792
Number [of slaves] received on board from the ship's arrival until her final departure

Date	Males	Females
8 November 1792	0	2
25	12	9
26	9	13
27	5	11
29	0	2
30	15	13
1 December	0	1
2	7	3
3	18	6
4	7	5
5	7	3
6	2	0
7	6	5
8	3	0
9	3	0
10	2	1
11	4	7
12	1	4
13	10	3
14	5	2

933 The *Roman Emperor*, John Langley and – Adamson masters, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 15 Aug. 1792, embarked 382 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 358 or 379 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 23 Aug. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 225; voyage ID 18163 in www.slavevoyages.org.

15	2	1
16	2	1
17	5	1
18	3	0
19	2	1
21	1	2
22	3	3
23	0	2
24	3	1
25	11	7
26	2	0
27	2	0
28	6	3
29	2	1
30	7	3
31	1	1
1 January 1793	0	4
2	1	0
4	0	1
7	4	4
9	0	1
10	2	0
11	1	2
12	1	1
13	0	7
	161	136
	44	47
	205	183
14	3	1
15	0	1
16	0	1
17	1	0
18	1	1
20	0	2
21	2	4
24	1	1
25	0	1

28	30	20
29	5	8
1 February	0	7
	44	47

Number died

Date	Male	Female
21 December 1792	3	0
30	0	1
6 January 1793	1	0
28	0	1
	4	2

Number relanded

Date	Male	Female
1 January 1793	0	1

Bonny River 4 February 1793
Number of slaves died on the Middle Passage 15 men 6 women 1 boy 1 girl
Gives no account of the number landed or sold
Kingston 26 March 1793
Date of clearing out from the West Indies to Bristol 24 June 1793

[245] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, Edward Taylor, Grenada, to James Rogers, Bristol, 4 November 1792, James Rogers Papers

This by the *Mary* Captain Sherbro of Liverpool[934] will inform you of my arrival here this morning. I am sorry to inform you of my losing all my people except two men and two boys. Likewise of losing 30 slaves by insurrection & death. I am very ill myself and no officer left. I've 128 slaves on board in good order. Slaves have averaged here £50. I've received your letter wherein you order me to Jamaica. I am afraid my situation will not admit of proceeding farther. Slaves are in great demand here.

[246] University of London Library, Special Collections, John Taylor, London, to Simon Taylor, Jamaica, 6 November 1792, Simon Taylor Papers, volume 14

I wrote you a few lines by the October Packet & by Captain Stimpson. I certainly ought to have wrote you oftener & now fully since my arrival in England. The hurry & confusion I have been in is my only excuse & how far that is a good one you can easily judge from what you experienced yourself.

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934 The *Mary*, James Rigby master, Francis Ingram, Christopher Butler, James Rigby owners, left Liverpool on 10 June 1792, embarked 210 imputed slaves in Africa, disembarked 195 imputed slaves at Grenada, and returned to Liverpool on 15 Mar. 1793. Voyage ID 82517 in www.slavevoyages.org.

I have had several letters from Mr Arcedekne[935] since I arrived. He is in Suffolk & will not be here until about Christmas. In his last letter he expessed uneasiness at Captain Cook's not going to Newcastle & mentioned having ordered an addition of 100 hogsheads coals to the usual quantity shipped from this port for Golden Grove.[936] I recommended waiting until he heard from you, as there would be enough of ships here for some time yet that would willingly carry what might be necessary.

I believe I before mentioned I had seen Mrs Cowell. She promised to pay me the balance due you (as per the account I brought her) as soon as Messrs Longs[937] had sold her sugars. I find there is still a part unsold. When I see her again I hope something will be done. She appeared highly pleased with the crop she had received and spoke with every appearance of gratitude of you for having brought about so pleasant a change in her situation. I have seen Mr Elmslie several times. I find he has sent his power for Serge island[938] to Mr Ross. When I receive the sales of his rum, which I hope to do by the packet now hourly expected, I will settle my account with him. As I pass through Edinburgh I will deliver the account (for 1791) of Serge Island to the trustees of Mr McFarlane & let you know what passes on that subject.

I have not seen Mr Jacob Hill since my arrival. He has been in the country & what I think stranger his wife has neither sent for nor given directions about her plants & seeds altho I called at Great Queen Street (twice) and left my address.

I have been several times at Dr Farquhar's and conversed over the state of his Jamaican property. He seems convinced from what I have mentioned to him of the propriety of disposing of both Retreat & Great River.[939] As I mentioned before my leaving Jamaica, I am of opinion it is for his interest neither to take £12,000 for Retreat than keep it. As to Great River I am no judge of its value but Ballantine & Fairlie[940] can easily find it out.

The Messrs Hibberts have been very polite to me. I have had several invitations from Thomas but happened to be engaged every time he asked me. I have also met with civility from Messrs Longs.

In my last I mentioned having been at Bristol & that my brother & his wife went with me to visit Charles Smith. I am at a loss to judge as yet how far my views of securing the sale of African cargoes may have been promoted by the visit to Bristol. Thomas Jones[941] & Mr Anderson[942] were perfectly civil & gave me reason to think

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935 Chaloner Arcedeckne (c. 1743-1809) was an English MP and a Jamaican slaveholder. L. B. Namier and John Brooke, *The House of Commons, 1754-1790*, 3 vols. (London, 1964), vol. 1, p. 26.

936 Chaloner Arcedeckne was the tenant-for-life of Golden Grove sugar estate, St Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica between 1763 and 1809. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/270.

937 The London merchant firm of Long, Drake & Co., based in Leadenhall Street. The original two main partners were Beeston Long and Roger Drake. After various partnership changes, the firm ceased trading by the 1830s. Catherine Hall, *Lucky Valley: Edward Long and the History of Racial Capitalism* (Cambridge, 2024), pp. 179, 181-2 n. 118.

938 In St Thomas in the East parish, Jamaica.

939 Great River sugar plantation was in St. James parish, Jamaica. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estates/.

940 John Taylor, Peter Ballantine and James Fairlie operated as Guinea factors in Kingston under this name. They advertised 844 slaves for sale in Kingston newspapers in 1793. Kenneth Morgan, 'Merchant networks, the guarantee system, and the British slave trade to Jamaica in the 1790s,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 37, no. 2 (2016), p. 335; Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade*, p. 119.

941 Thomas Jones managed 34 slave voyages from Bristol between 1767 and 1794. Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders*, p. 29.

942 i.e. John Anderson: see document no.74.

some of their vessels would be consigned to Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie. A Mr Fitzhenry said positively that one of his vessels would go direct from Bonny to them. Mr James Rogers seemed disposed to make a trial of us. James Jones was not in Bristol. I have heard from him since. He, like the whole of them, speaks greatly of the offers have been made of fixed agreements on terms I should never think of selling slaves on. The truth is several new houses are endeavouring to get into the Guinea factorage business & their desire to secure consignments induces them to agree to any terms the owners of the slave ships choose to propose, & Lord knows they are not the most liberal men in the world, from what I have known of them. I think their interest will seldom suffer by their modesty.

The friends Messrs Anderson were persuaded by Mr Bayly[943] to alter the destination of their ship the *Elizabeth* Anderson. They have assured me their other vessels shall come direct to Taylor Ballantine & Fairlie & I am convinced they will keep their promise. I mean soon to speak to the London African merchants & try what can be done with them, but as I before said, all the gentlemen in that trade are now intoxicated with success & think from the many applications made for their consignments they may make what terms they please. I hope it will be more easy to treat with them when a few of the late commenced Guinea factors are out of the way and that will be the case soon with several from Jamaica.

I have this moment received your letter of 16th September and it gives me the greatest pleasure to hear of your being in good health. I most sincerely hope you will long continue to enjoy that greatest of all blessings & with great truth I assure you no circumstance can contribute more to my happiness than your welfare.[944]

[247] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, James Jones, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 7 November 1792, Tailyour Papers

I am favor'd with yours of the 2nd instant. When I have the pleasure of seeing you I am inclined to think the points in which we have differed in opinion may soon be settled. I do not know what terms you have heard. What I have are not injurious to the seller in the present situation of the islands or more favourable than have been given at the Windward Islands for these seven years past, which are for Eboe cargoes, bills at 12, 15 & 18 months' sight. I have never thought it good policy to ask my friends to enter into ruinous engagements.

I expect my ship *Thomas*[945] Captain Phillips with a cargoe of eboe slaves will be in the West Indies the latter end of December or beginning of January & have thought of ordering her to Jamaica to your House. What sale do you think she would meet with respect to the bills? I take it for granted that it is in your power to give as short as any other Houses are giving and that you will not think 12 15 & 18 months too short for a prime cargoe. I also expect a small vessel from the Gold Coast with about 70 slaves will be there about the same time.

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943 Nathaniel Bayly: see document no. 223.

944 I have omitted a long section of the letter here that is unconnected with the slave trade.

945 The *Thomas*, Thomas Phillips master, James Jones, Edward and John Watkins owners, left Bristol on 19 June 1792, embarked 368 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 337 or 340 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 3 Aug. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 228; voyage ID 18170 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[248] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Munro McFarlane & Co., Grenada, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 18 November 1792, James Rogers Papers

On the 4th instant your ship *Mermaid* arrived here with 128 Slaves from Gambia. Captain Taylor put the cargo into our hands and on the 13th it was sold at an average of £44 sterling for the whole 128. This cargo having been originally by no means ill chosen, would have made a much better return but for the disastrous circumstances which attended the voyage.

While in the Gambia an insurrection happened in quelling which a good many of the slaves lost their lives & many of those who lived to be brought to market had wounds in their bodies which gave an unfavourable impression. To this misfortune has been added another. Captain Taylor lost all his hands to fire & these together with himself were in so weakly a state that were it not for the assistance of a few Negro boys, who the captain had the wise precaution to train a little to the business of working the ship she could not possibly have got into port. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the slaves, from necessity confined below and in Irons, were all of them or nearly all thin & some sickly.

We are sorry to add that Captain Taylor remains in a very precarious state of health. The ship however is getting ready by the assistance that has been procured & will in a few days be fit for sea. By her and the *Pilgrim*[946] to sail for your port on the 25th of this month we shall have the pleasure of addressing you again, with the accounts arising on the present sale and our bills at 12, 15 & 18 months sight for the proceeds of the cargo. Meantime we thought it our duty to embrace the earliest opportunity to communicate the above particulars.

[249] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/13, Sales of 128 slaves received per the ship *Mermaid* at Grenada, Edward Taylor master, from Gambia, on account of James Rogers Esquire & Company, merchants in Bristol, James Rogers Papers

13 November 1792 George Robertson Parker & Co. 128 slaves	£44 sterling	£5,632
Charges		
Captain Taylor's privilege & commission 6 per cent		£337 18 5
James Mullings privilege 1 slave at average		£44
Our commission on sales 5 per cent		£281 12
Hire of vessel advertising sales		£37 14 3
Hand bills &c		£ 2
Cash paid Captain Taylor £184 5 10 @ 175 exchange		£105 6 2
Munro & Co account £125 1 11 @ ditto		£71 9 8
Our commission on remittance 5 per cent		£226 5 6
[Deduct]		£1,106 6
Amount carried to account current		£4,525 14

946 The *Pilgrim*, Thomas Crooker master, John Anderson owner, left Bristol in 1792, purchased slaves at Bonny, sold them at Grenada, and returned to Bristol on 8 Jan. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 222. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18158 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were John Anderson, Thomas Deane, James Harvey and Thomas Rigge. The vessel left Bristol on 14 June 1792, embarked 412 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 392 imputed slaves at Grenada.

[250] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/5, William Blake, Old Calabar, to James Rogers, Bristol, 4 December 1792, James Rogers Papers

This my 6th per Ship *George*, Captain Fairweather tender. Am sorry to say have been disappointed these two voyages in my tenders. Shall now endeavour to make out for the *Rodney* as well as its in my power. Here is a great price paying for slaves 240 & 230 coppers. The ships here are 3 Liverpool 2 French. Am sorry to say we have buried William Lancelott John Harris John Murphy James McGuire & Samuel Clark drowned. Slaves are well. Shall have another opportunity soon.

[251] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, Robert Peak, Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 13 December 1792, James Rogers Papers

I arrived at this Instant at this Island after a passadge of 36 days. I find that Captain Walker has wrote you of my sailing with 240 slaves but he has wrong informed you. I sailed with no more than 232 & some died one female slave which I hope to carry the remainder to market, but I suppose should Captain Walker as included 8 slaves which died on board the Bark *Recovery* & Brigg *Morning Star*[947] while the *Fanny* lay at Bence Island.

Sir, I have waited on Messrs Lytcott and Maxwell of this island and they informed me they have no orders for mel therefore I shall proceed for Kingston and there waite on Messrs Allan White & Co by Captain Walkers orders and I hope to get a full freight home as I shall make it my only studdy while in the island.

[252] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Goodrich, Bonny, to James Rogers, Bristol, 30 December 1792, James Rogers

I am happy to inform you of our safe arrivel to this place after a passage of 9 weeks & 4 days having had many gales the first part of our passage and calms latter however find that no ships here have made a passage within that time. I am exceeding unhappy for the bad accountts you will have from the *Pearl* but hope to God that fortune will be more favourable in your other ships. Here is only 7 sail of ships at present in Bonny & 3 or 4 of them nearly slaved so that my prospect at present runs high. As I have reson to believe I shall make a speedy and full purches, we are all well and am happily situated in respect of my officers and ships company – and be assured shall use my best endeavours for the good of the voyage.

947 The *Morning Star*, William Fitzsimmons master replaced by William Stewart, James Rogers owner, left Bristol in 1792, purchased slaves at Isle de Los, but was sold on the African coast. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 220; voyage ID 18153 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[253] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded, relanded and died on the *Jupiter*[948] at Bonny River, 11 January-16 May 1793

Date	Males	Females	Boys
January 11 1793	1		
12	1		
13		1	1
16	1		
17	1		
20	2	1	1
21	1	1	
22	1	1	1
23	1	1	
24		1	
25		1	
26	1	2	
31	1		
February 1	1		
2	2	4	
3			1
4		1	
8		1	
10		1	
14	1		
22	6	6	
23	13	16	
24	3	2	
27	5	11	
March 2		1	
6	1		
8	1		

948 The *Jupiter*, John Goodrich master, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche and Richard Fydell owners, left Bristol on 24 Oct. 1792, embarked 400 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 347, 355 or 357 slaves at Martha Brae, and returned to Bristol on 27 Sept. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 215; voyage ID 18146 in www.slavevoyages.org. Some slaves taken on board slaving vessels were discarded and relanded on the west African coast rather than being shipped to the Americas. For a discussion, see D. P. Lamb, 'Re-landing and Trans-Shipping of Slaves by British Vessels in the 1790s: A Note,' *Business History*, 20, no. 1 (1978), pp. 100-4.

9	1		
10	3		
11	1		
12	1		
15	1		
16		1	
17		1	
18	2	2	
19	1		
22	1	1	
23	2	1	
24	2		
25	1	2	
27		1	
28	3	1	
29	1		
31	1	1	
April 3	1	2	
5		2	
6	1	1	
9	1		
10	1		
12	3		
14	1		
15		1	
16	35	42	
17	51	55	
18	7	7	
19	5	7	
20	1	1	
21	1	1	
23	4	2	
24	1	2	
25	1	2	
26	2		
27	3	1	
28	5	2	

29	2		
30	2	5	
May 1	1		
2	4		
3	3		
4	4	2	

Relanded

Date	Males	Females
27 January 1793		1
28		1
7 February	1	1
8	1	
10	1	
26	1	
28		1
29	1	2
5 March		3
9		1
31		1
17 April		3
19		1
21	1	

Died

Date	Males	Females
15 March 1793	1	
22 April	1	
25	1	
26	1	
27	1	1
28		1
5 May	1	
6	1	

Date of arrival at Bonny River 23 January 1793
Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage 16 males 16 females
Martha Brae 16 June 1793
Number of slaves landed and sold in the above port 347

Date of clearing out from the West Indies to Bristol 21 July 1793

[254] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Goodrich, Bonny, to James Rogers, Bristol, 24 January 1793, James Rogers Papers

I am happy to inform you that we are all well and although only thirty slaves on board yet expect to compleat my purchase in a short time, as the trade of this place seem to have appearancs of being much brisker than what it has been for some months past, the cause of which has been owing to the death of two of their kings. My cargoe answers well except the manilas which are made of such base metal and badly moulded that I cannot get the natives to take one of them. Price here are high at present but you may expect my leaving this river if please God to spare me with 430 slaves in all March so I hope to be in Jamaica in all May.

We are informed that trade are brisk at Old Callabar therefore hope Blake is doing well. Shall advise your not thinking of sending any other ships to this or New Callabar until you see a better opening as the prices is so high here should the slaves take a fall in the West Indies ships must sink money. Be assured I shall make use of my best endeavours for all concerned.

[255] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, Allan White & Co., Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 2 February 1793, James Rogers Papers

Herewith you will please receive sales of the Barque *Fannys*[949] cargo of slaves, neating fourteen thousand three hundred and forty eight pounds 1/8, carried for the credit of account current, also herewith and for the balance thirteen thousand four hundred & eighty five pounds 14/5 currency, equal to £9632 13 2 sterling. We have this day granted to Captain Robert Peak bills of exchange in your favour on Messrs Protheroe & Claxton,[950] as under viz.

5 setts of £500@12 months	2500		
1 sett	705 19 6	3205	19 6
4 setts 500@18 months		2000	
1 sett		514	14 8
1 sett		705	19 6
5 setts 500@24 months		2500	
1 sett		705	19 6
	Sterling	£9632	13 2

All which we hope you will find free of error, and wishing the vessel which sails the 5th a good passage

Received 2 February 1793 from Messrs Allan White & Co the several bills as above mentioned amounting to the sum of nine thousand six hundred & thirty two

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949 The *Fanny*, Samuel Phillips master replaced by Robert Peak, left Bristol in 1792, purchased slaves at Bance Island, sold them in Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 24 Apr. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 209. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18139 in www.slavevoyages.org: the owners were James Rogers and Thomas Walker. The vessel left Bristol on 19 May 1792, embarked 232 imputed slaves in the Sierra Leone estuary and disembarked 260 imputed slaves at Kingston.

950 A leading Bristol firm of sugar importers. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*, p. 194.

pounds thirteen shillings and two pence sterling which I promise to be accountable or to Messrs James Rogers & Co. merchants in Bristol, and for which I have signed three freceipts of this tenor & date.

Robert Peak

[256] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/6, Robert Peak, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 2 February 1793, James Rogers Papers

I have enclosed the first set of bills of £9,632 11 2 being the amount of the *Fanny* cargo which I hope will be to your satisfaction. The average of 30 slaves is drawn in favour of James Rogers & Co. by orders from Captain Walker. My average is £50 9 10 sterling. I should have made a better [sale] but having a number of small & old slaves in the cargo and a great quantity for this port: I am sorry sir to inform you that I am not able to get any freight home: I saw Captain Sherry of the ship *Jamaica* and he informs that if I should go round the north side it will be a great chance. If I get anything worth my notice therefore I shall proceed on the 8 of this month for Bristol.

[257] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, P. J. Miles, [951] Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 5 February 1793, Tailyour Papers

My father was favord with your letter of the 2nd instant, and with great surprize observes you had never received my letter to you at Montrose dated the 27th December last, inclosing your account current with my father made up to the 30th of that month, balance then due £1,186.13.4 sterling he drew for on demand on Messrs. John & Alexander Anderson of London, which finally balanced the same. Copy of said account and letter I now inclose for your information. Also copy of a letter of introduction which I inclosed with the above to Messrs. Hayhurst, Poole & Fletcher of Liverpool.[952] Those gentlemen would have been happy to shew you every attention had my letter got to hand, and you had made Liverpool in your way home.

We have waited upon one of the African gentlemen here to know their intentions respecting sending some ships direct to your house. James Jones assures that his ship *Thomas* was to go direct without reserve. John Anderson Esquire rather intimates his ships *Hector* and *Active* was to call to Windward first. Mr Fitzhenry tells us he has orderd a ship called the *Friendship* direct to your house in Kingston.

All this family will be happy to see you at Clifton wheneer you can make it convenient to come this way. My father still continues but poorly at times, but upon the whole not worse than when you was here.

Sugars are advanced here considerably within the last fourteen days, but we have now none for sale to make any advantage of it. We have not heard lately from Messrs Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie. My father and all this family unite in compliments.

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951 Philip John Miles (1773-1845) was a new member of Miles' bank, Bristol, in 1794. He remained a partner in the bank until 1845. Cave, *Bristol Banking*, pp. 72-4.

952 Merchants, 36 Atherton Street, Liverpool. Gore's *Liverpool Directory* (Liverpool, 1790), p. 76.

[258] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Grove, Harris & Papps, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 10 March 1793, James Rogers Papers

We had the pleasure of addressing a few lines to you dated 24th January per *Fanny*, since which period there have been many arrivals from Africa, however we do not find that the price is anything reduc'd by this bountiful supply. The last year's prices of produce has enabled the planters through the whole island to increase their strength, and Negroes will for some time to come in great demand. We could wish this may be much wanted when the *Rodney* comes down. People from Old Calabar require a brisk market. A vessel from thence arriv'd here two days ago, and the captain acquaints us that a tender to the *Rodney* arriv'd a very short time before he left the coast, on the 10th of January. He tells us also that Blake expected to send away the *Rodney* in about six weeks. Philips of the *Thomas* is just arrived from New Calibar, with a cargo of fine young slaves, to John Taylor. He says he spoke the *Sarah* on the 26th of December 20 leagues from Old Calibar bound thither 12 weeks from Bristol. Mr Harris writes us that we may expect the *Sarah* and the *Favorite*[953] to follow the *Rodney*. We shall prepare our friends for this arrival, and do not doubt but we shall give you every satisfaction in the sales. It may be acceptable to you to get a list regularly of the arrivals of Guinea men and to whom consign'd, in order that you may form an opinion of the different guarantees that are offer'd to you. Mr Dawson has put a friend of his with Lindo, and the firm is now Lindo and Lake.[954] The latter arriv'd here about three months ago, since when they have sold upwards of five thousand slaves, and it is said their friends are now under security for them for an amount of 800,000 pounds. We will prepare the list for you by the next opportunity.

[259] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Kennedy, Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 March 1793, James Rogers Papers

I am happy to inform you of my safe arrival here this evening at 7 o'clock after a short passage of twenty one days with two hundred & sixty eight slaves & near seven tons of ivory, a short passage but a very disagreeable one for the slaves. Have buried five slaves and had my crane boat[955] stove on the quarter & washed away by the sea. Have on board thirty sick and reduced slaves. As soon as I have got necessary refreshments for the sick slaves and no letters here shall proceed immediately for Jamaica and take all necessary precaution against the enemy. Hoping I may make a good average to make up the loss of the deceased slaves.

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953 The *Favourite*, Michael Crangle and Michael Small masters, Patrick Fitzhenry owner, left Bristol on 11 Oct. 1792, embarked 156 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 118 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 29 Sept. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 210; voyage ID 18140 in www.slavevoyages.org.

954 Lindo & Lake were Guinea factors in Jamaica between 1792 and 1796. They included Alexandre Lindo. Nicholas Radburn, 'Guinea Factors, Slave Sales, and the Profits of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in Late Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: The Case of John Tailyour,' *WMQ*, 72, no. 2 (2015), p. 245.

955 i.e. for lifting heavy loads.

[260] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Kennedy, Account of the ship *Crescent*, 22 March 1793, James Rogers Papers

To Alexander MacLeod debtor
22 March 1793 To cash paid David Dickson for printing bills of the sale of the cargo 50/ and for advertising ditto in the *St Jago Gazette & Daily Advertiser* 4.2.6
Paid on express postages and for pasting up handbills 8.1½
Paid for advertising the sale twice in the *Royal Gazette* 10
[Total] 5.0.7½
23 March To paid fees of entry at the Custom House 26.19.7
15 May To cash paid John McAllister, a Custom House officer, his fee on reporting the ship 10.10
18 May To Duncan McDonald for the use of his wharf landing the slaves on the first day of sale and landing & shipping the remainder of the cargo occasionally until disposed of 266 @ 7½d cash 8.6.3
18 May To cost of one puncheon of rum delivered to Captain Kennedy for the use of the ship the 10th April containing 106 gallons @ 4/6 23.17.0
25 May To cash paid John Lacy for officiating as a cryer at a public sale of the refuse of the cargo 1.5
[Total] 75.18.5½
31 May To amount of Captain John Kennedy's Account for cash advanced to him & paid on his account 322.11.3
[Total] £398 9 8½
The above account, amounting to three hundred and ninety eight pounds 9 8½ currency is just; for which I promise to account more particularly to Messrs James Rogers & Co. on my arrival in Bristol and I have signed the copies hereof.

[261] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on the *Mary* at Bance Island, 24 March 1793[956]

Date	Males	Females	Boys	Girls
24 March 1793	42	22	3	3

Total no 70
Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage nil
Dominica 30 April 1793
Number of slaves sold in Dominica port 70
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 12 May 1793

[262] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Goodrich, Bonny, to James Rogers, Bristol, 9 April 1793, James Rogers Papers

Am happy to inform you that we are all well having only buried 4 of the People and one slave since I have been in this river but most of the other ships has met with great mortality amongst whites and blacks. My number now on board is 130 young and healthy negroes. We are twelve ships here in number and prices going very high

956 No certain identification in www.slavevoyages.org.

which has occasioned me to take the *Favourite*s remains in which will act in lieu of my manilas as they are all bad and cannot pass one of them. Would have been a means of my making a short purches had not this opportunity of getting other goods offered. The prices paying here now is upwards of £30 per head. Expect to get away this next fare [i.e. fair] as having had but one fare since I have been in the river owing to their being no king. The trade is much stagnated here. I give myself 3 weeks stay here from this date so hope to be in the West Indies in all June with 400 Negroes.

[263] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Mitchell & Co., Martha Brae, to James Rogers & Co., Bristol, 9 April 1793, James Rogers Papers

We some time ago received letters from Robert Shedden & Co. mentioning that they had guaranteed half the *Jupiter*'s cargo if sold by us. We think it proper to inform you that we cannot at present accept of this consignment. At the same time we beg leave to assure you that when Captain Goodrich arrives he shall have every assistance that he may require or that is in our power to give him.

[264] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Kennedy, Old Harbour, Jamaica, to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 April 1793, James Rogers Papers

I take this opportunity to inform you of my safe arrival here with 266 slaves, sold Thursday 28th March 225 the first day of sale and the remainder stands on hands. Have now on board 27 unsold since the packet arrived and confirmed its being a war and the great rise of provisions prevents their purchasing of Negroes. There have been very few purchasers since the first day of sale. This is an out of the way place, not above fifteen houses in the bay. Mr McCloud has gone to Kingston this day to get people to come down to purchase the remainder of the slaves. When sold shall immediately get the sales closed and forward the first set of bills by safe opportunity. My average will be about 55 or upwards. I took the liberty to draw on you at Barbados for £26.12.5 sterling for necessary supplies for your slaves, and forwarded you letters from there by a vessel bound to Lankester [i.e. Lancaster] having no letter from you for my government.

Think it most prudent to wait for the first convoy and to put the ship up for frait for Bristol and take it in at the peace freight. By that means I expect I may get sugar enough to fill her should the freight ever settle for the regular traders at Kingston. Sugar 5s.6d. rum 8d 4 per gallon. The bills will be drawn agreeable to your agreement with Mr Bowin in Bristol. Since my departure from thence neither Mr McCloud take the ship up on no other terms whatsoever than that of Mr Bowins letter. Bills to be drawn at 12 18 & 24 months. There is nine of my people entered on board the man of war and got their wages. That eases the ship of £13 per month wages. Theres Captain Mentor of Bristol ship *Albion*[957] Captain Phillips of the ship *Thomas* now lying at Kingston. Waits for a convoy bound to Bristol. Captain Langley of the ship

957 The *Albion*, Edward Mentor master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 4 Aug. 1792, embarked 239 imputed slaves at Iles de los, disembarked 220 imputed slaves at Kingston, and departed for Bristol in July 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 204; voyage ID 18130 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Roman Emperor is arrived there with 379 slaves.[958] Theres nothing very particular at present. There has been several small French prizes sent into Kingston. There was such a report from a ship that past by Kingston Tuesday the 9th April. That day I was in Kingston. Informed them that he saw two frigates engageing off Cape François.[959] There is no man of war as yet arrived from England.

[265] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, James Jones, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 27 April 1793, Tailyour Papers

I have receiv'd your favour of the 22nd instant and am much obliged to you for the information, which you may be assured will never transpire from me, having already made acceptances to a large amount for slaves sold last year and considering every circumstance, I would wish the cargoe ordered to the north side not to sell under that guarantee if it can be avoided, but I find myself very much at a loss how to act in the business having no other correspondent there that I can consign her to. If you can give me any assistance or advice in this business you will oblige me very much & I will thank you to inform me if you have heard whether he has got the loan he wanted or what more you may hear.

I have letters from Captain Phillips of the *Thomas* dated 3 March informing that he arrived at Kingston the 28 February and the sale of his cargoe was to commence the 7th March but I have no letters from your house which I rather wonder at. Pray have you any letters.

[266] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Philip John Miles, London, to John Taylor, London, 29 April 1793, Tailyour Papers

My father was favord with your letter of the 22nd instant, and notes what you say respecting Sargent, Chambers & Co. By the *Prince William Henry* packet, my father have rec'd a letter from your House in Kingston, advising they were then selling the cargoes of the *Duke of Buccleuch* belonging to Messrs. Andersons of London[960] and the *Thomas* belonging to James Jones of this city, that the sales of both would be soon closed, when they should draw on my father for the amount at 12, 15 & 18 months. They have remitted bills in their letter above amounting to £1,607 11. 5 sterling, which will be to their credit in account current & which we shall endeavour to close as tomorrow the 30th instant being my father's usual day of making up all his accounts. Copy shall b e sent you when compleated. Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie's letter is dated the 10th March but contains no information whatever, so that they were then ignorant of a war having taken place between this country and France.[961] All this family unite in compliments.

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958 The *Roman Emperor*, John Langley and – Adamson masters, James Jones owner, embarked 382 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 379 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 23 Aug. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 225; voyage ID 18163 in www.slavevoyages.org.

959 i.e. Cap-Français, Saint-Domingue.

960 John and Alexander Anderson, leading slave traders at London in the 1790s. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 215-16.

961 France declared war on Britain on 1 Feb. 1793.

[267] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, John Anderson, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 4 May 1793, Tailyour Papers, box 1

I beg leave to inform you that a few days agoe, I got Mr Miles's[962] general guarantee (signed for him by his son Philip) for your House in Kingston Jamaica, and I have sent them a power of attorney, as acting assignee to the estates of James Rogers & Patrick Fitzhenry, by which they are empowered to take up & sell such cargoes of slaves as may arrive in Kingston; and as this is an evident preference given by me to your House, above all others, I flatter myself your partners will exert themselves in the sales & remittances, as well for their own credit, as for mine, who has undertaken to answer for their exertions in this business. I have sent a list of those ships that may be expected at Kingston to your House there, & I also have wrote to Barbados that they may proceed down without delay.

[268] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, J. C. Hunt, off Barbados, to James Rogers, Bristol, 11 May 1793, James Rogers Papers

I send my boat ashore here with the letters in order to forward as soon as possible any information you may receive from Captain Blake as also to acquaint you of my having proceeded thus far on my passage towards Jamaica. I have been eight weeks from the river, & seven from the bar. Am under the severe necessity of informing you of our having lost 61 slaves in consequence of a putrid flux[963] which has raged through the ship during the Passage, and which we attribute to the heavy rains which fell in turning out of the Bite.

I have 363 now on board, the major part of whom are in fine order. Out of the number are 25 sick, of whom 7 are very ill, the rest recovering. In conjunction with Mr Eveson the surgeon, I have done all in my power to stop the progress of this dreadfull disorder, which has attacked both black & white indiscriminately. At one time I had only two men, exclusive of the mates, capable of going aloft, and at this time am so ill myself with the same disease as not to be able to go on shore myself. Only about 4 prime slaves have died, the stronger having quickly recovered. The weaker ones, on being taken ill, always fell into a melancholy languor, from which there was no possibility of rousing them, though they had less cause for dejection on this than any other Middle Passage I ever made. As I have not had a man in irons since the day after leaving the Bar, our yams have held out so that I have plenty on boad for the remainder of the Passage. Beans have not been forced on them passing one meal a day, & as to room we might have had 50 more slaves on board without incumbrance, had the act permitted.[964] For the preservation of the rest, no means shall be left untried that I can think of.

Hoping for a speedy run down to Jamaica.

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962 William Miles of Bristol.

963 A form of dysentery.

964 A reference to Dolben's Act (1788).

[269] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Grove, Harris & Papps, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 9 June 1793, James Rogers Papers

We have to advise you that the *Rodney* Captain Hunt arrived here the 19th ultimo with 345 Negroes. She buried 89 and 14 of the ship's crew upon the coast & passage hither. We wish it was in our power to acquaint you of her being come to a favourable period but the contrary is truly the case for at present there are no less than 16 Guineamen here having upwards of 3000 Negroes unsold. The *Rodney*'s cargo we advertiz'd for sale on the 31st ultimo but did not sell a Negro which has been the case with many good cargoes lately arrived.

From the immense importations since October[965] last the principal planters are supply'd & provisions being very scarce & dear prevents many from purchasing that wou'd otherwise be in the market. The *Rodney*s cargo is particularly disadvantageous at this time, coming from Old Calabar, a country the planters decline purchasing from when others are to be had.[966] Captain Hunt wou'd write you by this oppoy if it was in his power, but he cannot being very ill indeed dangerously so with the flux, which has afflicted him for some months past. We are sorry to add that 16 of the cargo have died in this harbour, mostly of that disorder, which has been very prevailing on board the ship since she left the coast.

The price of Negroes has fallen considerably. Angola slaves were sold yesterday at under £40 sterling per head. We have as yet only dispos'd of 10 meagre Negroes (that would probably have died if kept longer on board ship) by public vendue for £140 this money & 5 others at £40 to £50 sterling per head but we must reduce the price considerably otherwise it will be impossible to make a sale while there are so many prime slaves at market from the more favorite countrys of Angola & the Gold Coast & the Windward Coast.

At this time there are two Liverpool ships at Montego Bay from Old Calabar that no person will take up. We suppose they will come round here, besides which may others are expected in the course of a month.

The best cargoes are now taken up here at 18, 24 & 30 months, & though the *Rodney*s is by much the worst we intend sending you bills at those dates in consequence of her coming direct to us, though we are convinced that no other house in town woud have taken her upon the same terms.

You may be assur'd of our utmost exertions for your interest.

[270] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Philip John Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 10 June 1793, Tailyour Papers

Your letter of 14th March has been lying by me some time. I shall now reply to it, as well as to your letter of the 8th of this month received Sunday the 9th. Our friend Mr

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965 Refers to the extensive slave imports in Jamaica in late 1792. Kenneth Morgan, 'Towards Abolition: The British Slave Trade and its Caribbean Markets, 1783-1807' in Kenneth Morgan, ed., *The Routledge History of the Modern Maritime World since 1500* (Abingdon, 2025), p. 318.

966 The evidence is mixed on whether Jamaican planters preferred slaves from some African regions rather than others. Prejudice against Africans emanating from some regions can be found in correspondence but there is little evidence that planters would abstain from buying slaves until ships carrying Africans from desired areas arrived. Trevor Burnard and Kenneth Morgan, 'The Dynamics of the Slave Market and Slave Purchasing Patterns in Jamaica, 1655-1788,' *WMQ*, vol. 58, no. 1 (2001), pp. 218-19.

John Anderson here I have had an interview with since I wrote to him to desire an explanation of what he said to you about my becoming guarantee for Guinea ships to your house. His reply I sent to you. He some time ago sent to get your address at same time sent to desire I would give him a letter of guarantee for any ship he might send to Jamaica & to the address of your house which was done so that I conclude that since the disasters here[967] he has thought it his interest to renew his correspondence with you & your house.

I am clear your house will have many more Guinea ships offered than they may it prudent to sell and therefore I should not be (were I in your places) for shortening the bills to quite so short a time as those drawn for the proceeds of the *Duke of Buccleugh & Thomas*'s cargoes. The bill returned to you accepted by Shaw of Lancaster payable in London you should have got settled immediately or got it protested & returned to Jamaica as drawer & acceptors there (if any beside your house) may demur to it in being delayed after due. I have desired my son to inclose you a letter to Messrs Hayhurst, Poole & Fletcher & Messrs Watt & Walker[968] of Liverpool who know persons in Lancaster for I do not know any person there as to be asked to speak of their circumstances. I had an idea that Shaw was good. Messrs Hindes[969] I know nothing of more than as a correspondent of Mr Brodhurst of Kingston.[970] I observe you have been furnished with a copy of Messrs Taylor & Co. also by my son. The bills from the proceeds of the *Duke of Buccleugh & Thomas*'s cargoes are come to hand & to comply with your wishes respecting Messrs Andersons I have discounted the bills & remitted them in full for the same & I have done the same for James Jones which cannot fail placing your house in a respectable point of view. I continue much in the same way as when you were here & with I fear little hopes of being much better. Wishing you an agreeable journey to your native home & happy with your friends are the united wishes of my family being all of your commands.

[271] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, P. Lytcott, Barbados, to John Anderson, Bristol, 13 June 1793, James Rogers Papers

I have eceived your much esteemed favour in course down to the 1st May last, which reached my hand by the packet the 11th instant, accompanied with the joint power from Mr James Rogers of your city (whose unfortunate situation I am extremely sorry for)[971] yourself, Mr Gibbons and Mr Dyer as assignees. On the same day one of

967 A reference to the extensive credit crisis of 1793, which had a calamitous effect on credit provision in ports such as London, Liverpool and Bristol. Julian Hoppit, 'Financial crises in eighteenth-century England,' *EcHR*, 39, no. 1 (1986), pp. 39-58.

968 Merchants, 47 Hanover Street, Liverpool. *Gore's Liverpool Directory* (1792), p. 164.

969 Thomas Hinde, Jr, was involved in Liverpool slasving vessels in the 1780s and 1790s. His brothers, William and Samuel Hinde, also invested in the Liverpool slave trade. Melina Elder, 'The Liverpool Slave Trade, Lancaster and its Environs' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, p. 121.

970 John Brodbelt, a magistrate for St Catherine precinct, Middlesex County, Jamaica. *Jamaica Almanac* (1790) as cited in www.jamilyfamilysearch.com.

971 James Rogers & Co. was declared bankrupt in 1793 with debts amounting to £100,000. Kenneth Morgan, 'James Rogers and the Bristol Slave Trade,' *Historical Research*, vol. 76, no. 192 (2003), p. 189.

the ships you mention arrived here from Africa, namely the *Swift*,[972] Captain William Roper who was sensible of the failure of Mr Rogers and immediately on his arrival applied himself to Mr Samuel Richards, on whom the late master Captain Kennedy (who took the ship to the coast) as well as I believe as himself had orders from Mr Rogers to call upon. I lost no time in acquainting Captain Roper of the full power I had that day received from Mr Rogers & his assignees, but on his informing me that the ship had been coppered[973] on the coast by a French privateer & that she had been plundered by her of 33 slaves, 224 elephants' teeth and some provisions, and he had ransomed the remainder of the cargo and vessel for one thousand pounds sterling by his draft on himself giving his mate as hostage, I could not insist on his going further, as from the advice & opinion taken upon a state of the case, she must be the property of the underwriters on her and cargo and therefore should be sold at public auction on their account.

Mr Richards and myself have this day written the assignees, and you may depend the best in our power will be done for the interest of those concern'd, and a remittance will be made the assignees for the net proceeds as soon as possible.

The ship *Rodney* as I have been informed passed this harbour some time the last month for Jamaica. The other four ships have not made their appearance, but depend as soon as they do, I will be attentive in giving the captains the necessary orders for proceeding to Jamaica agreeably to the authority I have received from you as the acting assignee, and as opportuniys offer I will advise you.

We have not fixed upon the day of sale, but we have enter'd the ship and will soon advertise giving the proper notice that as many purchaseers as choose may attend the sale.

[272] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, John Goodrich to James Rogers, Bristol, 15 June 1793, James Rogers Papers

Am happy to inform you of our safe arrivel here after a passage of thirty seven days from Bonny, having missed Barbadoes stopt nowhere until we arrived here we brought in here 359 slaves having lost 22 upon our passage and eleven died in Bonny River the slaves we now have on board are in general in high order and could sell them after the rate they have been sold here would make great returns but am sorry to inform you that the merchants here do not like to sell a cargo at present. Have aplyd to Mr Mitchell who says he cannot take up our cargoe to draw bills. Have wrote Mr Wedderbourn but have not yet got his answer but find there is five sail of Guinea ships in the bay who cannot get anybody to take them up upon any other terms than at the risque of the owners to say take the purchasers bonds for security of the payments with interest to commence on behalf of the owners from the day of sales. This mode of doing business so forren from the usual method makes me quite at a loss to know how to proceed & many other disagreeables which proves to make me very unhappy but be assured shall exert myself for all concerned. Am sorry to find no letters here

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972 The *Swift*, John Kennedy and William Roper captains, left Bristol on 30 Nov. 1792, embarked 127 imputed slaves at Iles de Los, disembarked 124 slaves at Barbados, and returned to Bristol on 30 Sept. 1793. Richardson, *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 228; voyage ID 18169 in www.slavevoyages.org.

973 i.e. copper sheathing, used to protect ships' hulls from teredo worms in Caribbean waters. Gareth Rees, 'Copper Sheathing: An Example of Technological Diffusion in the English Merchant Fleet,' *Journal of Transport History*, new series, 1 (1971/2), pp. 85-94.

from you as they might have been of service to me in my present situation. Was I to attempt to sell the cargoe myself for the good of the owners it would be attended with so much risque as not noing my purchasers therefore must content myself by taking my chance as the other ships do here in the like predicament.

[273] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Grove, Harris & Papps, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 24 June 1793, James Rogers Papers

Above is a copy of what we last address'd to you, since when we have gone but slowly on with the sales of the *Rodney*s cargo. 180 Negroes are all that are yet sold, to which add 19 that have been buried since she came into the harbour. Those deducted from 345 slaves leaves 146 unsold which we shall exert ourselves to dispose of to the best advantage and as early as possible for the longer we keep them the less is their value. The great scarcity and the enormous price of provisions depreciates daily the value of slaves, of whom there is an increase in this island since September last to the present period of upwards of 31,000 and several thousand more are expected within the next three months. From this extraordinary addition to the number of inhabitants, there is an unusual demand for provisions and the [damaged] of getting them from America whose trade to this island is much interrupted by French cruizers off that continent[974] renders them very scarce and extravagantly high, therefore the planters are backward in purchasing and are induc'd to come into the market by very low prices and great accommodation in credit. We hope you have not many vessels on the coast. The terms are now ruinous. Guineamen have been taken up by *notes* payable in England at an average of three years.

[274] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, J. C. Hunt, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 July 1793, James Rogers Papers

It was my wish to have remitted you the net proceeds of the *Rodney*'s cargo per this Packet, but as Messrs. Grove Harris & Papps have not made up the accounts & the custom house charges not being ascertained, I have it not in my power to obtain the bills, but shall have all closed before the departure of the next fleet, which is to sail from the west end on the 25 instant.[975] The convoy appointed are the *Hannibal* & *Hector* each of 74 guns per each of which I shall remit a sett & bring the other myself. I shall sail with the fleet. The amount of the sales viz 324 Negroes is £11,412.7.1 currency which averages £25.3.2¾ sterling. The best slaves solde from 70 to 50 currency. Most of the boys & girls 40 and 30, but a great number of the men were too old for the market, which was glutted & several sick slaves sold at vendue reduced the average considerably. The women went off pretty fast, but had it not been for the Spaniards,[976] we should have had a quantity of men on hands yet, so great an aversion have the planters to old slaves & an Old Callabar cargo. Spite of good feeding & attendance we lost 21 after our arrival. When once sick they are the most miserable,

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974 French privateers took cargoes off many nations during the French revolutionary wars.

975 A reference to Bluefield Bay, on the western side of Jamaica, which was fixed as the assembly point for the returning convoy from Jamaica. Ships joining this fleet were escorted there by frigates and small sloops from the naval squadron. The convoy usualy set sail at the end of August each year. Patrick Crowhurst, *The Defence of British Trade, 1689-1815* (Folkestone, 1977), p. 181.

976 i.e. for the re-export trade to Spanish America.

abject sett of Negroes existing.

The *Will* of Liverpool has arrived from Old Callabar with only 125 slaves out of 260 & a number of these sick.[977] The *Favourite* of Bristol has slaves remaining on hand which nobody will look at & as she is to sail the 25 it is thought she will not close her sales before the departure of the convoy.

The remittance will be drawn on Messrs Harris & Grove, Bristol, payable at 18 24 & 30 months. At this time nobody here gives bills at a less date than 24 30 & 36 & at the north side ships have sold whose agreement was to take notes for the payment of the sales on receipt from the purchasers. Some vessels have gone a begging here for 2 days before any person would take them up.

Am sorry to acquaint you that my disbursements will run very high. I arrived in Kingston a mere wreck. Almost all the lower shrouds[978] gone some of them in two places & for running rigging I was so deficient as not to be able to carry above ⅔ the sail the ship would bear. I might have made my passage a week sooner if I had cordage to have carried a proper press of canvas.[979] All the sailors who arrived here in the ship entered immediately on board the men of war, & I oblig'd to pay them off and hire others at a dollar per day to refit the ship. The carpenter has been so sickly since leaving the coast as to be seldom capable of duty, so that I have been forc'd to hire black caulkers to caulk the ship. She was so open both ends decks & upper works that when I smoak'd her after the disposal of the slaves, the smoke issued through every seam that was not newly caulk'd. I have not bought any large cordage for lower shrouds but spliced the best of the old ones two pair into one and what was deficient to complete the shrouds I cut off the ship's hawser. Salt provisions I have none left & but 2 casks of bread.

Captain Ward of the *Will* could give me no other Intelligence of the *Sarah*, but that Captain Blake was well when he left Callabar.

Since writing the above there is a confused report of the fleet sailing in two divisions, one on the 20 the other on the 25. People are divided in their opinions & as this is Sunday, there is no paper out to give us official intelligence.

I am thank God got the better of my disorder but continue very weak.

[275] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Grove, Harris & Papps, Kingston, to James Rogers, Bristol, 14 July 1793, James Rogers Papers

The preceding is copy of our last respects since when we have clos'd sales of the *Rodney*s cargo of slaves. 21 died since her arrival so that the number sold is 324, the average of which we are sorry to advise you is only £25.3.2 sterling but be assured our utmost exertions have been made use of. We believe there never was a more indifferent cargo of grown people than the *Rodney*s or a worse assortment, being in general very old and having only eight of the description of men boys and women girls. Fifty four of the cargo have been sold at vendue in consequence of the meagre emaciated state they were in, which has lessened the average a good deal. We intended

977 The *Will*, John Ward master, John B. and James Aspinall, William, Sr and Jr, John and James Gregson, George Case, Edward Wilson, William Begg and Peter Comberbach owners, left Liverpool on 3 Oct. 1792, embarked 131 imputed slaves at Calabar, disembarked 125 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 3 Nov. 1793. Voyage ID 84024 in www.slavevoyages.org.

978 Shrouds are pieces of standing rigging which hold masts up from side to side.

979 Press of canvas means the most sail a vessel can carry under given conditions.

to have sent the bills by this conveyance, but could not get in the ships accounts so as to make up the account of disbursements.
The ship is preparing for sea and will be ready to proceed with the fleet appointed to sail on the 20th current when we shall furnish the different accounts and the bills.

[276] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Slaves loaded on the *Brothers* at New Calabar, 16 August-20 September 1793[980]

Date	Male	Female
30 August 1793	15	17
31	3	18
1 September	6	9
2	6	1
4	17	19
5	35	35
6	9	12
7	2	2
8	1	2
9	10	4
10	1	3
11	3	11
12	30	29
13	12	13
14	3	2
16	1	1
18	5	2
19	2	0
20	3	6
	164	186

Number died 15 September 1793 1 male
19 September 1 male
2
New Calabar 27 September 1793
Number of slaves died in the Middle Passage 20 male 32 female
Kingston 9 December 1793
Gives an account of landing 61 slaves transferred the remainder
Date of clearing out from the West Indies for Bristol 10 March 1794

980 The *Brothers*, Joseph Williams master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 30. Mar. 1793, embarked 350 imputed slaves at New Calabar, disembarked either 296, 314 or 318 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 21 Apr. 1794. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 231; voyage ID 18176 in www.slavevoyages.org.

Total number 350
2
348
61
287

[277] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie, Kingston, to John Anderson, Bristol, 5 September 1793, James Rogers Papers

To the foregoing copy of our last please be referred, since are without any of your favors. The *Sarah* Captain Blake[981] arrived here about 8 days ago and are sorry to say with a very indifferent cargo. He entered only 137 and of them there are several so very ill that we do not suppose more than 130 will be sold, if so many. The passage was a very long one, 80 days from the coast. You may rely on our best endeavors to make the most of the cargo although there is no credit in having such to sell, and with such should have had nothing to do had you not previous to her arrival sent us a power of attorney. Our market for slaves is still very dull owing to the apprehension of a want of provisions during the hurricane months but as our ports are open to the Americans we shall have shortly a great abundance from which circumstance think sales will be brisk towards November.

[278] The National Archives, Kew, C 107/59, Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie, Kingston, to John Anderson, Bristol, 9 October 1793, James Rogers Papers

Above you have copy of our last. To it please be referred. Since your esteemed favour covering letter of attorney from Mr Fitzhenry & his assignees came duly to hand but which do not imagine there will be much use for, the *Langrishe*[982] not having called at Barbados went down the north side to Montego Bay. On her arrival we wrote the captain of the power we had, and our being guaranteed by Mr Miles for his ship and if he came round here and his cargo was really a good one (which we understand since it is) we should draw bills for it at an average of 24 months. In answer he wrote us he was sorry he had no letters from Bristol left for him at Grenada where when he sailed he was desired to call for instructions, and that he had then sitt down with Messrs. Wedderburn & Co. who we understand are to give him their own notes payable 31 December 95, 96, 97 [illegible]. We have wrote to Messrs. [illegible] that we have a power and requesting the notes may be drawn in favour of the assignees to which have yet had no answer.

Having closed the sales of the *Sarah*'s cargo we now inclose you copy thereof average £39 5s. 7d. more than we at first expected to have made of such a cargo. Nett proceeds £6065 4s. 11¼d. Also account current for the balance of which you have our

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981 The *Sarah*, James Crean Hunt and William Blake masters, James Rogers, Sir James Laroche, Richard Fydell, John Goodrich, Richard Blake and John Purnell owners, left Bristol on 6 Oct. 1792, embarked 154 imputed slaves at Bonny, disembarked 137 or 140 slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 27 Aug. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 227; voyage ID 18167 in www.slavevoyages.org.

982 The *Langrishe*, John Fitzhenry master, Patrick Fitzhenry and James Rogers owners, left Bristol on 7 Mar. 1793, embarked 416 imputed slaves at Bonny, and disembarked 372 imputed slaves at Montego Bay; the subsequent fate of the ship is unknown. Voyage ID 18182 in www.slavevoyages.org; Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 227.

drafts in your William Gibbons & Robert Dyer's favor as follows:

One sett on William Miles Esquire @ 24 months	£1,284
One sett on ditto @ 30 ditto	£1,284
One sett on ditto @ 36 ditto	£1,284
	£3,852

Three thousand eight hundred and fifty two pounds and two pence sterling which doubt not will meet due honour. These bills are drawn at as short sight as any have been given for such cargoes and can assure you we would rather have given 24 months for the *Langrishe* cargo.

We could make no sale of the *Sarah*. She therefore proceeds to Black River where we expect she will be fully loaded with logwood for Bristol.

The demand for Negroes is still very slack but think it will mend towards the end of next month. At present there are none on hand here but Angola and these are never liked. Those from Bonny and the Gold Coast have allways a preference.[983] Recollecting nothing further to add, remain with much respect.

[279] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, James Jones, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 14 October 1793, Tailyour Papers

I am favor'd with yours of the 10th. The *Brothers*[984] was ordered at first to the north side direct & when I spoke to you respecting her having an opportunity I wrote her to call at Port Morant & Port Antonio that I might have time to determine as I was critically situated by her. Affairs being thus situated I now think it will be best to order the captain to write to your House as soon as he arrives for their advice whether to proceed to Kingston or the north side. I hope my letters will be in time for this arrangement.

I hope my ship *Lovely Lass*[985] will be with your House before this year is expired. The *Mary* is on the Gold Coast and is also ordered to them. She takes about 160 & I apprehend will go together. The two ships from Angola its likely will be there first. These close all my ships that are out. I have desired your friends to get freights for them all for this port or London if possible and I shall be obliged to you to inforce it. The great fall on the price of negroes & the extention of date of bills is a severe stroke on me.[986] I have however the fullest confidence your house will do the best for my interest. I am informed the price of Negroes is getting up.

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983 Three out of five slaves imported in the British Caribbean came from the Bight of Biafra and the Gold Coast. Philip D. Morgan, 'The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 18, no. 1 (1997), p. 127.

984 The *Brothers*, Joseph Williams master, James Jones owner, left Bristol in 1793, purchased slaves at New Calabar, sold 296 at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 21 Apr. 1794. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 231. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18176 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 30 Mar. 1793, embarked 350 imputed slaves at New Calabar and disembarked 314 imputed slaves at Kingston.

985 The *Lovely Lass*, John Wade Robinson master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 3 Jan. 1792, embarked 416 imputed slaves at Cape Lahou, Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle, disembarked 411 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 29 July 1794. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 217; voyage ID 18149 in www.slavevoyages.org.

986 Low prices meant that Jones would receive less profits for the slave sales than he would have liked and the extension of the time on bills meant that he would have to wait longer for payment.

My future operations to the coast will be governed by the situation of things in the West Indies. And I shall be glad to have the best information & advice what the prospects will be at Jamaica.

Mrs Jones joins me in best respects to Mrs Taylor & yourself.

[280] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, James Jones, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 7 November 1793, Tailyour Papers

I received in course your favour of the 16th ultimo. I am in hopes the *Brothers* may call at Port Antonio & get a letter lodged there for her in this case the Captain Will remain there until he gets a letter from your House by which he will be guided. I have received the account sales & bills for the *Royal Charlotte*[987] & *Nassau*'s[988] cargoes. The great fall in the price of slaves and the extention in the date of the bills is a severe stroke on me. I however hope before any more of my ships arrive prices will get up. I do not think there are many now on the coast. I expect my Gold Coast Ships will be at Jamaica next month & I hope I shall receive a good account of them as well as those from Angola.

Mr Ross finding the market at Annotto Bay overstocked turned the *Catherine*[989] over to Messrs Malcolme & Barton of St Lucea who made a tolerable good sale & gave bills on Mr Neill Malcolm. The cargoe was sold before the captain received any letter from me. This ship had the shortest passadge I ever remember from Bonny.

I think I shall be in London about the middle of next month if nothing calls you here before. I shall then do myself the pleasure of seeing you and renew a subject I spake to you of when before was here; my wish of doing business in the Jamaica line which I think may increase our connection & to mutual advantage.

Mrs Jones writes her respects with mine to Mrs Taylor & yourself.

[281] William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Philip John Miles, Bristol, to John Tailyour, London, 12 November 1793, Tailyour Papers, box 6

I was daily favor'd with your obliging letter of the 17th ultimo & have to beg pardon for its remaining so long unanswered, but being very busy at that time. Dispatching some of our ships was the cause as it prevented our having time to make up & forward your account current. Inclosed you will now receive it made up to the 30th instant. Balance the due to my father of £1,186. 13. 4 which I have drawn for payable on that day on John & Alexander Anderson's esquire of London agreeable to your directions

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987 The *Royal Charlotte*, James Soutar master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 13 Oct. 1792, embarked 364 imputed slaves in Africa, and disembarked 333 imputed slaves at Kingston. It was then captured by the French. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 226; voyage ID 18165. in www.slavevoyages.org

988 The *Nassau*, Matthew Morley master, James Jones owner, left Bristol in 1792, purchased slaves at Sierra Leone, sold them at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol on 17 Jan. 1794. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 221. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18156 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 25 Oct. 1792, embarked 190 iimputed slaves at Sierra Leone estuary/Iles de Los/ Bence Island and disembarked 189 imputed slaves at Kingston.

989 The *Catherine*, James Wilson master, James Jones owner, left Bristol in 1793, purchased slaves at Bonny, sold them at Jamaica, and returned to Bristol c. 21 Dec. 1793. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 231. Further details are supplied under voyage ID 18177 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Bristol on 19 Jan. 1793, embarked 345 imputed slaves at Bonny and disembarked 316 imputed slaves at Lucea.

in your letter above & the same is to your credit. I hope on examination you will find the whole perfectly right & quite agreeable. Inclosed you will likewise receive a letter to our friends Hayhurst Poole & Fletcher of Liverpool requesting them to introduce you to the principal Guinea Houses in that place for not being in the habit of corresponding with the merchants in that line, we are not well acquainted with their firms, but those gentlemen will pay you every attention & introduce you to such as may be depended upon.

We take every opportunity of speaking to the gentlemen in the African line in this city to consign their ships direct to Taylor Ballantine & Fairlie in Kingston. They all promise to send one & sometimes two from each House & in consequence we give them letters of introduction yet so little are they to be depended upon that not one out of seven even goes down to Jamaica but calls & sells to windward. We have had an instance during the present month of what little avail on Africans merchants word is to be taken for the Ship *Langrish*. Mr Patrick Fitzhenry of this city was ever intended as the owner always declared to go direct to your House, instead of which her master came to an anchor in Port Morant & then dispatched expresses round the island to try who would give him the best terms in consequence of which she was taken up by Barnett & Parkinson & averaged nearly £58 sterling. I observe you had received payments of Hibberts bill in London which was better I think than going back to Jamaica. I thank you for your kind enquiries after my father & sister's health. I think upon the whole both are better than when you were here. All this family unite in the compliments of the season

[282] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, P. J. Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 24 December 1793, Tailyour Papers

My father was favor'd with your letters of the 15th and 16th ultimo, the latter advising the receipt of his letter dated the 12th in which you was written to very fully. Agreeable to youyr intimation, Tompson Barton & Co's bill was immediately forwarded to Mr Osbourne for acceptance, but he has thought proper to note that also, with an intimation that it would be protested when due, unless the drawrs enabled him to take it up by remittances. The first bill that was drawn on Mr Osbourne wiil be due the 7th of January next, when it shall be regularly protested and returned to your house in Jamaica who will act with it as they may think right there. Mr Charles Smith has been waited upon with your compliments & good wishes for his health, which appeared to be highly grateful to him, in his health and spirits he is nearly the same as when you was here.

Since writing the 12th ultimo, Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie have remitted Richard Brissett's bill on Hibbert, Fuhr & Hibbert[990] of London for £2,000 at 12 months with interest after 90 days, which is accepted and to their credit. They have drawn upon my father five bills account of ship *Sarah*'s cargoe of slaves amounting to £4,166 2.5 which are all accepted and to their debit. Our fleet for the West Indies sailed yesterday under convoy of the *Adamant* of 50 guns and *Fly* sloop of 16 guns.

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990 A London merchant partnership established in 1788. David Beck Ryden, *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783-1807* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 65.

[283] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Philip John Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, Tailyour Papers, 23 January 1794, Tailyour Papers

My father is just favord with your letter of the 21st instant. Agreeable to your request I inclose a letter of guarantee for Mr William John Collow,[991] which you will deliver him. We have had several applications lately from Liverpool on the same business, to all which a general guarantee have been sent as usual, that if your house takes up & sell my father will accept & pay their bills. The persons that have wrote us on this business are James Penny & Co.,[992] Messrs Tarleton & Rigg and Mr Thomas Leyland.[993] We have not herd from your house in Jamaica for some time past; their own bill on Osbourne was protested when due and return'd them. My father and all this family unite in compliments.

[284] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, James Jones, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 12 February 1794, Tailyour Papers

I am favor'd with yours of yesterday. By the packet I have sales of the Angola cargoes with which I am satisfied and I think your house have used their best endeavors for my interest. They write me the *Brothers* cargoe was rather thin, but as they were young & healthy they will be likely to recruit before the day of sale.

I have not the least objection to the *Isabellas*[994] going to your House, and will immediately order the captain to proceed to them direct from the coast. I am inclined to think I must immediately send another ship to join the *Isabella* on the coast of Angola with more goods to make his assortment compleat. Otherwise she will be in a bad situation. Agreeable to the wish you expressed when I saw you last (as well as from your House) to have two eboe cargoes in the fall I am getting two forward for that part of the coast to direct to your House; it is my intention not to do much this year and if its agreeable to you what I do shall go to your House & which I should think would be as much as you would like to do this year. At least I will endeavour to make it agreeable on that point if you will say what you would wish to do.

I have every reason to expect the next Packett will advise of the two Gold Coast Ships being at Kingston.

Mrs Jones joins me in Compliments to Mrs Taylor & yourself with regard.

I understand the slaves in Gold Coast ships are very ordinary.

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991 London merchants involved in slaving voyages to the Gold Coast between 1790 and 1796. www.slavevoyages.org. See Stephen D. Behrendt, 'The Journal of an African Slaver, 1789-1792, and the Gold Coast Slave Trade of William Collow,' *History in Africa*, 22 (1995), pp. 61-71.

992 A Liverpool ship captain and merchant who had made c.43 investments in slaving voyages by his death in 1799. Melina Elder, 'The Liverpool Slave Trade, Lancaster and its Environs' in Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, p. 126.

993 Thomas Leyland (1752-1827) was a Liverpool merchant involved in 64 slaving voyages between 1782 and 1799. David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Slave Merchants of the second half of the Eighteenth Century,' ibid., p. 200.

994 The *Isabella*, Thomas Gilvin master, James Jones owner, left Bristol in 1793, purchased slaves in Africa, sold them at Jamaica, sailed back to Africa and returned to Bristol on 10 Feb. 1795. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 233. Further, somewhat different, details are supplied under voyage ID 18181 in www.slavevoyages.org: the vessel left Liverpool on 21 Jan. 1793, embarked 461 imputed slaves at Malembo/Congo River and disembarked 455 imputed slaves at Kingston on 6 Nov. 1793.

[285] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Philip John Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 21 February 1794, Tailyour Papers

Your favour of the 19th February my father duly received requesting a letter of guarantee for Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie for Messrs. Sargent, Chambers & Co. of London. Said letter you will receive inclosed worded in the usual way. We were favoured with a letter from Mr Thomas Leyland of Liverpool requesting a letter of guarantee in January last, which we furnished him with immediately but if you require another letter to be written him you will signify the same, and it shall be done.

[286] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Clifton, to John Taylor, London, 3 March 1794, Tailyour Papers

When you give me an account of your conversation with Mr John Anderson here respecting African consignments to your house at Jamaica, it could not escape your notice to see that I was greatly surprised at what had fallen from that gentleman that I should refuse him my guarantee for your house, adding also by innuendo to you, that on that account it could not be expected he should do anything.

The next morning I wrote a few lines to Mr Anderson upon the subject. A copy of it, and his original answer, I now enclose to you that you may see for yourself. I hope you got safe to London, and that you have seen my son. As you saw, all the gentlemen in the Africa trade here and heard what they all had to say to you on that subject. If you think it advisable for the interest of your house that I should come into the measures of the merchants here to comply with their terms, you need only to say what terms and I will let them know it. For my own part I never had but one opinion upon it and that was as you know always to refuse. It is too dangerous to comply with it, you & myself bound, and the lose to act as they please.

[287] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 15 April 1794, Tailyour Papers

Just before my son Philip John went for London to spend a week or ten days with a couple of youmg friends, he put your letter of the 31st of last month into my hands: its contents I have duly considered and which I postponed answering thinking there was reason to hope I might have received a letter from Mr Simon Taylor after he had seen Mr Tharp and consulted with him upon the subject you allude to, namely a partnership between your brother yourself and my son I suppose you mean to be carried on in London. As to myself that is totally out of the question on account of my miserable bad state of health age family and various connections in this city which will render it impossible for my son Philip to reside in London or even to have any connection that of necessity requires his presence there except two or three days now & then.

As my son is now just become of age I mean to take him into partnership with me on the first of next month under the firm of William Miles & Son. Should your brother & self under the circumstances set forth as above think of a connection with my son in London it must be a separate one and too under the patronage of our friends Mr Taylor & Mr Tharp. Should that be obtained and a partnership take place a round capital will be not only necessary but requisite to make it respectable & productive.

My next son Robert John Miles is but 13 years old. Therefore it will be some years before he can take a part in my connections here. I have daughters. They may marry and bring on connections. I have nephews one of which has been in my compting house some time. He may wish to go to Jamaica who is now about 18 years old at present sober and promising so that you see how I am connected. Indeed on the 25th of last month my son Philip was taken into the firm of the bank I have done business with here and made tho the youngest in it the first in the firm as a compliment to me. I have thought this necessary to acquaint you with knowing so well your character, abilities and respectable connections that I have nothing to add nor nothing to fear as I certainly should were I not so thoroughly convinced of your situation in life. I shall for the present quit the subject and tell you that several guarantees have been given by me in the guarded and usual manner I have always adopted and which from experience I am sure you have found to be wise & very necessary and now more so than ever because I see greater danger attending our West India Islands than ever I have since I have followed the trade now more than 40 years.

The conduct of this country respecting the Negroes in our islands by the interference in what belongs to the internal regulations of the assemblies of those islands only is matter of serious regret and already has had the most barbarous & bloody effects in the French islands[995] and which together with the late proceedings of the Convention of France in passing a decree to put the Negroes in their islands upon the footing of citizens of France[996] can't fail to inspire them with freedom which in the end will reach our islands & shocking to think will I fear be the massacre of their masters. It is this I dread.

In England you see West India produce falling in price month after month. Supplies of all kinds advanced in price. Duty on sugar & rum (the staple) increased. Freight insurance &c greatly advanced. Everything attending shipping & sailors wages particularly enormous; in short I see nothing but ruin attending the present appearance of things. Therefore the closer we keep ourselves the better and if you were to make a dead stand in the African line I am confident we shall all benefit from it. This is seriously my best opinion founded upon the reasons stated.

[288] Parliamentary Archives, London, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Surgeon's journal of slaves and crew on the ship *Perseverance*,[997] begun at Angola on 10 September 1794

Date	Males	Females	Total	
1794				
September 10	2	0	2	
12	1	0	1	

995 Refers to the massive slave rebellion in Saint-Domingue in 1791.

996 On 4 Feb. 1794 the National Convention ratified the emancipation of slaves into citizens of the French Republic.

997 The *Perseverance,* Thomas Phillips master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 12 June 1794, embarked 468 imputed slaves at Congo River, disembarked 460 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Bristol on 7 Oct. 1795. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 241; voyage ID 83065 in www.slavevoyages.org (where it is misidentified as a ship sailing from Liverpool).

13	0	2	2	
15	3	2	5	
17	5	0	5	
18	9	4	13	
20	7	2	9	
21	1	0	1	
26	8	6	14	
27	13	3	16	
30	13	0	13	
October 2	3	1	4	
5	14	6	20	
6	2	1	3	
8	14	3	17	
10	8	0	8	
				1 returned
17	20	13	33	
22	5	6	11	
27	20	7	27	
November 5	23	5	28	
8	10	10	20	
10	12	2	14	
12				1 returned
13	13	11	24	
17	1	1	2	
18	14	8	22	
23	19	6	25	
28	10	10	20	
December 1	10	4	14	
4				1 returned
5				1 returned
8	1	8	9	
13				30 men put on board the brig *Mary*
14	24	26	50	
15	9	7	16	
16				1 returned
20	4	26	30	

	6	2	8	dead
	274	186	460	remains

Mortality list of slaves

1795	Males	Females	Cause of death
January 11	1	0	Fever Middle Passage
18	0	1	ditto
20	1	0	ditto
22	1	0	Putrid sore throat Middle Passage
27	1	0	ditto
29	1	0	Dropsy Middle Passage
30	1	0	Worms Middle Passage
February 10	0	1	Yellow fever Middle Passage

Mortality list of crew

4 October 1794	Williams	4th Mate	Putrid fever	River Congo
17 November	John Taylor	Boatswain	Putrid fever	River Congo
28 November	Mr Brownsworth	2nd Mate	Putrid fever	River Congo
5 December	Mr Brown	2nd Mate	Fever	River Congo
21 December	Mr Mann	3rd Mate	Fever	River Congo
16 January 1795	William Nichols	Seaman	Fever	Middle Passage

Jamaica Port of Kingston

I Thomas Greensmith surgeon of the ship *Perseverance*, Thomas Phillips commander, arrived from the coast of Africa, laden with slaves, do swear that the annexed journal contains a just and true account of all the slaves that have been received on board the ship, from the time of her sailing from the port of Bristol until her arrival in this harbour; and that the mortality list, also annexed, contains a just and true account of all the deaths that have happened on board the said vessel during the above-mentioned period

So help me God

Signed Thomas Greensmith

Sworn before us, this 13 day of February 1795

Signed Peter Francklyn collector

[289] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, James Jones, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 2 October 1794, Tailyour Papers

Your letter dated the 24th ultimo from Montrose did not come here till yesterday. The resolution Messrs Taylor Ballantine & Fairlie have so suddenly come to drop the sale of African ships rather surprises me, but I consider it is not meant to extend to ships now on their voyages and intended to go their address & so it would be very injurious to your interest as five of my ships are in this situation for which I have not looked out

for any other guarantee; indeed in one or two instances I declined overtures that were made to me for this purpose as these ships were fitted expressly to go to this address and in a great measure from their recommendation & wishes. As I was inclined to lay by for some time which I wrote them, & you, and in a conversation in London I told you I would fit out no more than your house were desirous of selling, indeed I expect two of them may be now in Jamaica, therefore notwithstanding the situation of affairs in the West Indies, which I shall feel the inconvenience of as well as them, I consider they are bound in honor exclusive of every other consideration to sell these ships, and I cannot doubt after the considerable connections we have had together I shall experience the same honourable conduct and attention to my interest.

You must suppose your letter must have caused some uneasyness from the situation my ships are in and the large property at stake and there not being time to alter their destination. I therefore trust you will immediately write to your House to prevent any inconvenience and that I shall shortly hear from you to remove my anxiety.

Mrs Jones joins me in respects to Mrs Taylor & yourself.

[290] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 19 November 1794, Tailyour Papers

Your letter of 27th April to me & 24th October to William Miles & Son are now before me. With respect to the former it is clear to me you perfectly understood my opinions & meanin on the subject. In answer to the latter, I desired my son to wait upon Mr Ford to make him a tender of service if he could be of any use in his business with the concerns of the late Charles Smith Esquire deceased. I have not been abled to do anything for some time owing to a cold that has been upon me ever since the latter end of August, which in addition to my nervous complaints has been very severe.

Your African concerns are now become from their magnitude very serious indeed so much so as to make me uneasy. I have for months past seen great danger in this, the very worst of all wars, which together with the great fall on West India produce & particularly sugar the staple makes me very apprehensive you will experience great disappointment in your remittances, which can't fail to distress me, not having the least conception you but particularly your partners could have been induced to go to such lengths, indeed I did not know to what sum until very lately, having been so very poorly for some time. Bringing everything to your credits that has been remitted, except the 100 hogsheads sugar not yet ascertained and the proceeds of sugar shipped to my address per Mr William Sinclair, the balance on your old account current stands at £61,162.14.1 & your new account current at £141,516.12.1 almost all of which will be due in all 1795 & 1796 which I fear we shall find will soon and but too rapidly advance upon us to make good so large a sum. I include all the bills remitted, supposing them all to be good & will be paid, though there are six bills under notation for £1,000.0.0 £200.0.0 £150.0.0 and Richard Brissett three bills for £10,000.0.0.

AS the produce of the years is now pretty well arrived, I have lately written Messrs Hibberts house to know if they mean to pay those bills of Mr Richard Brissetts when due. It being a considerable sum is an object to know. The loss of Mr Collow[998] ship with respect to your concerns in her, by having sugar on board & that insured may net moe that way than if arrived. I hope you and partners will exert every nerve to

998 i.e. William Collow: see document no. 283.

remit, so as to prevent William Miles & Son meeting inconvenience, for I candidly confess I would not have entered into this business to half the extent it is carried, for the whole of your commissions.

I entreat you will write and put a stop to it. My alarms are great and although our friend Mr Simon Taylor and your self have large and independent fortunes, yet my situation is so dangerous that I must decline that business altogether. I have raised your credits in the African line so high by discounting many of my acceptances that I believe you have or might have (by the application us for letters upon the terms of our William Miles former general letters) the greatest part of the ships fitted out of England on the African trade. I shall be glad to see you and partner when you can make it convenient. Myself & son with my family at Clifton[999] all unite in best respects to you & Mrs Taylor and with best regards to your partner.

[291] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 10 December 1794, Tailyour Papers

Your letter of the 24th ultimo was a great easement to my feelings. I am however still fearful from the appearance of things in the West Indies, that the best concerted plans, aided by the best intentions and ability, will be defeated, because those very persons you place your money with, and confidence for bills to remit, will themselves be disappointd by their correspondents at home unless they should have money in banks in England which I believe you will agree with me is not the case but with few. I did not hastily write to you until I found to what great lengths your partners had gone in the sale of African ships and not until I had written to Messrs Hibberts & others to know if I might when the bills under notation were due expect payment in reply to which they give reason to suppose they shall not pay them. I therefore for my own sake, and our valuable friend Mr Simon Taylor, to beg that the African business with respect to me & my son may be stop't altogether. I am led to think from the number of letters received from different houses for letters to guarantee payment of Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie that you would have had almost all of the African ships fitted out from England addressed to your house.

Produce sells miserably low when it is considered the accumulated heavy charges attending it, which will operate heavily indeed against the planter.

I am desired by my family they may write with me in best respects to Mrs Taylor & yourself, being your very sincere and most obedient servant.

P. S. My best respects to Mr Fairlie and good wishes for his recovery of good health.

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999 A prosperous Bristol suburb.

[292] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Loading of slaves on board the schooner *Mary*,[1000] Angola, December 1794

1794	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
December 12	22	0	17	0	39
18	0	0	0	1	40
19	3	0	0	2	45
20	3	0	0	2	50
21	1	0	0	3	54
22					1 sent on shore
22	0	0	0	1	54
23	0	0	0	2	56
27	0	0	0	18	74
					1 died on Middle Passage of fever
Totals	27	0	17	29	73

Mortality list of crew
Thomas White fever
John Lloyd drowned
Edward Power consumption
George Bradford fever
Thomas Diston ditto
William Mutcher ditto

Kingston, Jamaica

John Glasco surgeon of the schooner *Mary* Samuel Savell commander, arrived from the coast of Africa, laden with slaves, do swear that the annexed journal contains a just and true account of all the slaves that have been received on board the ship, from the time of her sailing from the port of Bristol until her arrival in this harbour; and that the mortlity list, also annexed, contains a just and true account of all the deaths that have happened on board the said vessel during the above-mentioned period

So help me God
Signed Samuel Sevall
Sworn before us, this 13th day of February 1795
Signed Peter Francklyn collector

1000 The *Mary*, Thomas Distin master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 9 Apr. 1794, embarked 75 imputed slaves in West Central Africa and disembarked 74 imputed slaves in Jamaica. The vessel was then sold. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 240; voyage ID 18196 in www.slavevoyages.org.

[293] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles & Son, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 20 March 1795, Tailyour Papers

Since we had the pleasure of seeing you here, we have been favor'd with several letters from the house in Kingston advising of their having drawn for the proceeds of several Guinea Men, vizt.

Isabella, amounting to	18,990.12.3
Minerva,[1001] ditto	6,965.3.4
Roman Emperor, ditto	12,367.6.7
Eagle, ditto	14,478.3.5
Enterprize,[1002] ditto	13,189.7.6

The three last sets appeared yesterday, and with the two former have been duly honor'd. Your partners also advise of their having the *Elliot* and *Pilgrim* then on sale, which would soon be closed, and for the proceeds they mant to draw upon our William Miles. Having understood from you when here that there could not be more than two or at most three ships then to be taken up and sold by your House, and seeing five sets of bills appear as above, and to be advised that two more will appear, it has exceedingly distressed and alarmed him indeed, so much so, that the very high respect he bears for Simon Taylor Esquire added to the confidence he has in your house could have induced him to accept any further. He doth therefore most honestly entreat you will put a final stop to this business till times do mend and the blessings of peace and security be again restored (if you wish to preserve that very high credit your House have attained) for to go on further at times like the present he will not, nay he cannot with safety to himself and family.

We have received the following bills to your & partner's credit, vizt.

Atkinson, Mure & Bogle[1003] on Baring & Co.[1004]	£4,000.0.0
Ross on Davidsons & Graham	£500.0.0
Ballantine, Fairlie & Co. on Andersons	£1,200.0.0
Glasgow acct. of Gale on Plumer & Barham (noted)[1005]	£301.13.0
Atkinson, Mure & Bogle on Baring & Co.	£3,000.0.0
Ballantine, Fairlie & Co. on Ogilvie & Co.	£375.14.0

The two last came per packet yesterday, therefore we do not yet know their fate.

1001 The *Minerva*, William Kewley master, William Rigg and Clayton Tarleton owners, left Liverpool on 31 Jan. 1794, embarked 256 imputed slaves at West Central Africa, disembarked 250 imputed slaves at Kingston. Voyage ID 82748 in www.slavevoyages.org.

1002 The *Enterprize*, William Young master, Thomas Leyland and Thomas Molyneux owners, left Liverpool on 5 May 1794, embarked 395 imputed slaves at the Congo River, disembarked 360 imputed slaves at Kingston, and returned to Liverpool on 29 Mar. 1795. Voyage ID 81295 in www.slavevoyages.org.

1003 This partnership included the Glasgow merchant William Mure. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, p. 187.

1004 A powerful merchant-banking company in London. Its family history is described in Philip Ziegler, *The Sixth Great Power: Barings, 1762-1929* (London, 1988).

1005 In 1793 Plummer & Barham was a West India merchant firm based at 5 Billiter Square, London. 'Plummer, Thomas (?1749-1818), of Camberwell, Surrey,' in R. G. Thorne, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790-1820* (London, 1986), p. 836.

[294] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 23 March 1795, Tailyour Papers

Our William Miles & Son wrote you a few days ago to inform you that three sets of bills were come to hand for the proceeds of three more African ships to the amount of upwards of £40,000 sterling that your house had at the time. The packet sailed two more African cargos on sale and the house expected one more for sale. You must Mr Taylor be surely awake to the dangerous situation I am placed in.

From your candor and the prudence that followed up all your transactions when in business for yourself that even suspicion itself was never in my thoughts, but now Mr Taylor with the danger that surrounds us on all sides, with my constant nervous complaints, has made me miserable in the extream. I cannot go on and therefore I desire you will put a final stop to all further sales of African ships as far as respects your drawing on me or William Miles & Son. The house drawing upon me for the contingencies of my estates at 90 days without raising the cash at Kingston upon such bills where they would have yielded a premium of £15 per cent and not given one a credit equal to it, charging me with the negroes bought from time to time and drawing upon for their amount per bill at 90 days without allowing the highest possible premium such bills would have yielded at the time instead of giving me besides all the time you took for payment of the cargo of such ship, where such slaves were bought shews me but too plainly I have been perfectly wrong. Sir, my commission besides of three pounds per cent upon the sales you made & those of your house, I will leave you to calculate what it will amount to. I have to advise that Richard Brissett bill of £3,333 6s. 8d. with interest after 90 days will be due the 9th of next month. I depend you will as you promised cause that to be paid as well as all others under notation remitted to me from your house. Do you think had I been paid full commission on all your African concerns any house in England deserved it more. I am certain you can answer with satisfaction they could not.

I have to inform you with much concern that Mr James Jones departed this life on Saturday morning last the 21st instant of a bilious fever. Heaven preserve us to see the load of debt I am engaged for – for your house paid.

[295] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 9 May 1795, Tailyour Papers

Your letters of the 25th & 27th March 4th 10th & 18th April are now before me in order that I might see if anything material had been omitted in the answers to them. Stewart & Holgate £1000 & interest upon it is as I feared protested & returned per post to Falmouth to go per packet for Jamaica. So was Whites, and also Brissett on Hibberts. To show you also how well my fears were founded with respect to payments from Jamaica, I had many bills remitted from Jamaica and several of them noted, and except one, all the rest were protested as they became due. I have three yet depending which I am pretty confident will meet the same fate. William Miles & Son have received letters from your house dated the 2nd 4th & 24th February & 8th March with Atkinson & Co.'s bills on Baring & Co. London accepted for £3,000 £2,000 & £4,000 advising of their having drawn for many thousands and in their last of the 8th March they advise having received an account from you to say I had written to you that a stop might be put to the sale of any future cargoes of Negroes. They also add that as

the *Perseverance* was arrived & her cargo of negroes sold, that should positively be the last, that having drawn to apply to Messrs Barnett Hoare Hill & Barnett bankers London[1006] for the purpose who are in possession of them due the 9th instant and I should be glad you would remit for White bill on Weare £150 12 4 sent out protested. I am obliged for the consignments intended from two estates and that you had written to your partners on the complaints I had made of their mode of drawing bills on me at short dates for payment of contingencies for my estates without allowing the highest premiums then given on bills and for not giving me the time you took for payment of the cargo on the bill the house drew upon me for the negroes taken by Mr Simon Taylor for the use of Golden Valley,[1007] and besides for not giving me the highest premium. Such bills so drawn for at 90 days would at the time if carried to market have yielded.

It is said Mr Jones[1008] died in affluence of from 50 to £100,000.0.0. A great deal he made by his African concerns within the last three years owing to your keeping up the prices so high at Jamaica when the Negroes have been purchased on the coast for I believe less than half the sum they used to cost, to the decided prejudice of the planter. The prices ought to have lowered to £40 instead of £60 sterling. I depend upon your taking up the bills.

[296] Parliamentary Archives, London, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, A list of slaves and crew on board the ship *Sally* of Bristol, Elisha Arrindell master, August 1795-May 1796[1009]

When taken on board	Males above 4'4"	Males under 4'4"	Females above 4'4"	Females under 4'4"	Males above 4'4"	Males under 4'4"	Females above 4'4"	Female under 4'4"	Cause of death or delivery	Total on board
October 1 1795				1						1
November 10	1									2
November 13	1									3
6 January 1796			1							4
1 March	1									5
9 March	2									7

1006 By 1790 this banking firm was based at Lombard Street, London. See Bland, Barnett & Hoare records (https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/).

1007 Golden Valley sugar plantation, St Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica was the property of William Miles. In the mid-1790s Simon Taylor was the acting attorney for the estate. 'Golden Valley Estate,' https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1995.

1008 i.e. James Jones of Bristol.

1009 Compiled by the surgeon in accordance with the provisions of Dolben's Act (1788). The *Sally*, Elisha Arrindell master, John Anderson, Charles Young, James Harvey, William Gibbons and Thomas Cole owners, left Bristol on 3 Aug. 1795, embarked 197 imputed slaves at Bance Island, disembarked 196 or 197 at Port Antonio, and returned to Bristol on 14 Oct. 1796. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 248; voyage ID 18216 in www.slavevoyages.org.

13 March	1									8
14 March	1									9
25 March			5							14
27 March	3	1								18
30 March	4	1								23
2 April			2							25
6 April	24	4	10	2						65
7 April	1						3		Yaws and flux	63
11 April	2		12							77
12 April	10		7	1						95
16 April					1				Flux and fever	94
18 April	21	4	15	3						137
20 April	29	6	11	6						189
21 April	5		1	2						197
11 May					1				Delirium	196
Totals	106	16	64	15	2		3			

Date	Names	Station	Cause of death and deserted
3 August 1795	Elisha Arindell	Master	
	John Harris	1st Mate	
	James Duffy	2nd Mate	
	Thomas Tilly	3rd Mate	
	B[illingly] Riddle	Surgeon	
	Richard Rogers	Boatswain	13 October 1795 putrid fever
	William Jones	Seaman	
	Robert Moore	Seaman	
	John Humphries	Seaman	22 September 1795 diabetes
	John West	Carpenter	18 February 1796 diabetes
	James Hooper	Seaman	
	Michael Hogan	Cook	
	James Collins	½ Seaman	
	David Holly	Ditto	Missed at night. Supposed fallen overboard 1 April 1796 at Bunce Island.
	David Griffith	Landsman	
	James Whippy	Landsman	
	Andrew Patterson	Ditto	

	Thomas Hounsell	Steward	
	John Webb	Boy	
	George Papps	Boy	
	William Wickham	Ditto	
	George Grey	Ditto	

Jamaica

I Billingly Riddle surgeon of the ship *Sally* of Bristol arrived from the coast of Africa loaden with slaves do make oath that the foregoing journal contains a full and faithful account of all the slaves received on board the said ship from the time of her sailing from Great Britain on this present voyage until her arrival at this island. And I further make oath that the mortality list thereunto annexed contains a full and true account of all the deaths that have happened on board the said ship during the said period.

So help me God

Billingly Riddle

Sworn before us at the Custom House, Port of Port Antonio, this 31st day of May 1796

Edward Manning Paplay collector

Thomas Oakley comptroller

[297] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/7/1106, Journal of Joseph McIntosh, surgeon, on the ship *Lion*, John Smith, master, Jamaica,[1010] 14 December 1795

Date	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
May 19, 1795	1	1			2
20	2				4
21	2				6
22		1			7
23	1	1			9
24	1	1	2		13
26	1	1			15
27	2	1			18
30	2	2			22
31	1				23
June 4	3		2	1	29
5	4	1			34
6	3	1		1	39
7	3	1			43

1010 The *Lion*, John Smith master, James Jones owner, left Bristol on 28 Oct. 1794, embarked 420 imputed slaves at Malembo, disembarked 410 slaves at Kingston, and was captured by an unspecified vessel afterwards. Richardson, ed., *Bristol, vol. 4*, p. 239; voyage ID 18194 in www.slavevoyages.org.

8	1	2			46
9	3				49
10	1	1	1		52
11	4				56
14	4		1		61
16	3	1	2		67
18	1		1		69
20	1	1			71
21	1				72
22	2		1		75
23	1				76
24	3	2			81
25	3			1	85
July 3	13			13	72[1011]
5	1				73
6	6	2			81
7	2				83
9	2	1			86
10	3				89
11		2		1	92
13		1			93
14	3	2			98
16	2				100
17	7	3			110
21	1	1			112
23	1	1			114
25		1			115
27	1				116
28	1				117
29	4				121
30	1				122
31		1	1		124
August 1	4			1	129
2	6	1			136
4	1				137
5	5	3			145
6		1			146
7	1	2			149
9	2	1			152
10	1				153
12	3				156
18	3	2			161

1011 Thirteen Africans sent on board the *Stag*: hence the deduction.

19	6	3			170
20	4	4			178
21	2	1			181
22	3				184
23	6	7	2	1	200
24	5	1			206
26	1				207
27	2	1			210
28	3	1			214
29	5	2		1	222
30	1				223
31	5	2	1		231
September 1	5	3			239
2	7	2		1	249
3	4	3	1	1	258
4	7	3			268
5		2			270
6	1	2		1	274
7	5	6			285
8	5				290
9	4	1			295
10	2	1			298
12	6	4			308
13	11	2			321
15	10	8			339
16	8			1	348
17	3	2			353
18	1				354
19	3				357
20	6	4			367
21	3	2			372
22	6	4	1		383
23	1	3			387
24	3	10			400
25	3	3			406
26		1			407
28		2			409
29		3			412
October 1	2				414
3		5			419
4		1			420
Total	251	142	16	11	420
Died in Middle Passage	6	1	2	1	10

Now on board	245	141	14	10	410

Mortality list of cargo

Date	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Cause of death
12 October 1795			1		1	Flux
13				1	2	Ditto
14	1				3	Perineumonia
17			1		4	Flux
22	1				5	Ditto
27	1	1			7	Ditto
17 November	1				8	Ditto
25	1				9	Ditto
26	1				10	Apoplexy
Total	6	1	2	1	10	

Mortality list of crew

Date	Name	Occupation	Cause of death
1 February 1795	John Durbin	Carpenter	Fever
3 August	William Cole		Drowned

Jamaica Port of Kingston
I Joseph McIntosh surgeon of the ship *Lion* of Bristol, John Smith commander, arrived from the coast of Africa, laden with slaves, do swear that the annexed journal contains a just and true account of all the slaves that have been received on board the ship, from the time of her sailing from the port of Bristol until her arrival in this harbour; and that the Mortality List, also annexed, contains a just and true account of all the deaths that have happened on board the said vessel during the above-mentioned period.
So help me God
Joseph A. McIntosh
Sworn before us, this 14th day of December 1795
John Dawson
Comptroller[1012]

[298] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles, Bristol, to John Taylor, London, 25 June 1797, Tailyour Papers

Your letter of 23rd April came duly to hand on the 30th in answer to our letters of the 12 March and 11 April. We should not have mention'd the behaviour of the Anderson's of London, but for its being at the moment of danger and great distress, when they, with multitudes of others in the metropolis, combined together to meet the general distress; however thank God it had no other effect than that of occasioning some

1012 A port official overseeing the accounts and finances.

trouble and obligations of readiness to serve us by our neighbours.[1013]

Since our last we have received several letters from Messrs. Ballantine, Fairlie & Co. and from Messrs. Ballantine, Dick & Co.[1014] with the following remittances.

Vizt. Hossack on Elmslie, due 9 September 1797, noted £500

Donaldson, Forbes & Co. on Donaldson, Glenn, Forbes & Co. due 9 September 1797, accepted £2,500.

All remittances received in Ballantine & Fairlie and Ballantine, Dick & Co.'s letters of the 21st and 25th February and 9th March are included in account current with Messrs. Taylor, Ballantine & Fairlie we now enclose, made up to the 30 April 1797, balance then due to us of £77,745.17.7 for bills accepted not yet due, and for balance of payments actually made £16,993.13.8 make together £94,739.11.3, which on examining we hope will be found right and quite agreeable to you. Copies of the account have been sent to Messrs. Ballantine & Fairlie and Ballantine, Dick & Co.: it's without end the trouble we have had in negotiating bills and getting them paid, upon Liverpool, Glasgow and other places but London for the last year and this particularly, so that you will impress it upon the minds of your late partners to get all bills they take made payable in London except what they take on Bristol.

[299] William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, William Miles & Son, Bristol to John Taylor, Craigo, Scotland, 23 July 1798, Tailyour Papers

We had the pleasure to write you on the 6th May stating everything that occurred to that time. We writ you again on the 15th with Messrs Taylor Ballantine & Fairlie a/c made up to the 30th April preceding it, balance due Taylor Ballantine & Fairlie £3745 10 4 sterling was carried to their credit in a new account to be applied in aid of £28636 14 9 sterling balance of bills accepted by us not yet due. On examining we hope it was found right and satisfactory. Soon after we received your letter dated Craigo[1015] the 15th May acknowledeging the receipt of our letter of the 6th of that month. Since that period we are without any of your favours. We however conclude that in a few days after you received our letter of the 15th of May with a copy of you're account current with your house inclosed, particulars as above stated. Should our friends Mr Taylor & Mr Ballantine leave Jamaica for Englnd as you supposed they would do, we most sincerely hope they arrive safe and meet their friends and connections in health and happiness.

The profits arising between yourself and partners from their African trade cannot fail of being very lucrative, yet we believe there are considerable deductions; if there were not, it would be great indeed. Your exertions in it keeping pace with the great

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1013 Refers to the government's suspension of specie payments in Feb. 1797 following a run on the Bank of England's gold reserve. Patrick O'Brien, 'Merchants and bankers as Patriots or Speculators? Foreign Commerce and Monetary Policy in Wartime, 1793-1815' in John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan, eds., *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 256.

1014 In 1797 Peter Ballantine opened an African factorage in Kingston with a clerk, David Dick, operating under the firm of Ballantine, Dick & Co. Kenneth Morgan, 'Merchant networks, the guarantee system and the British slave trade to Jamaica in the 1790s,' *Slavery & Abolition*, 37, no. 2 (2016), p. 345.

1015 A village in Angus, Scotland.

extension of your trade, we hope [blank] induced him to accept any further. He doth therefore most earnestly entreat you will put a final stop to this business till times do mend, and the blessings of peace and security be again restored if you wish to preserve that very high credit your house have attained for to go on further in times like the present he will not). Nay he cannot with safety to himself and family.

We have received the following bills to your & partners credit, vizt.

Atkinson, Mure & Bogle on Baring & Co.	£4,000.0.0
Ross on Davidsons & Graham	500
Ballantine Fairlie & Co. on Andersons	1,200
Glasgow account of Gale on Plumber & Barham (noted)	301.13
Atkinson, Mure & Bogle on Baring & Co.	3,000
Ballantine Fairlie & Co. on Ogilvie & Co.	375.14

The two last came per packet yesterday. Therefore we do not yet know their fate.

[300] Bristol University Library, Evan Baillie,[1016] London, to Peter Baillie,[1017] Bristol, 13 June 1804, Baillie Papers, Pinney Domestic Papers

Having forgot it yesterday, I must now request that you will send me by return of Post the exact Ballance of Mountgerald's bond as it stood last year and on which interest was received and charged and that without taking any notice of the £500 now credited for legacy. I think the Balance stood at £2640 fifty or sixty pounds, but I want to know the precise sum, which the private ledger will show in a minute. I likewise want to know to what time my half pay is settled with Ogilvie. I think he owes me everything since 24 June 1803. The private ledger will show this & the letterbook will show if I sent him a certificate for my half pay to 24 December last, at that time or early in January last.

I forgot to ask you I believe in any of my letters whether John Bolton or Dennistoun & Co. had made you any remittance for our cotton and sugar last sold by them, and perhaps it may be as well to draw now on Davidson & Graham, Bogle &c. in the usual maner for the shipments sent forward in the Fall on their accounts.

Your letter of yesterday is just come to hand with the weekly report, which I dare say is correct: from the number of bills advised on the 7th I believe we have now very few acceptances out. I agree with you from the present state of markets that Fairbairn's sugars are not sufficiently covered. I therefore would recommend your aking £260 more on the 130 hogsheads which will be rating them at £30 per cask. If you wish this additional insurance done here send me a written order to Vaux & Sons for the purpose.

You will see how very feeble our attempts are even to oppose the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The Phrensy that has seized all parties on this subject is most

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1016 A Scots-born merchant who lived in the Windward Islands and later established a merchant house in Bristol. In 1802 he was elected as an M.P. for Bristol. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, p. 92. For Baiilie's mercantile activities see Douglas J. Hamilton, 'Local Connections, Global Ambitions: Creating a Transoceanic Network in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Empire,' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23, no. 2 (2011), pp. 283-300.

1017 The eldest son of Evan Baillie. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, p. 92.

unaccountable. I confess it alarms me most seriously, and it will induce me of abridging my West India business within very limited bounds. At all events whatever the measure of abolition must prove a most fateful stab to West India credit, as it renders all securities on estates highly precarious having no promise or engagement to prevent any fanatical Minister from sanctioning even a measure of emancipation.

Index of People

Please note that, firstly, as a general rule only people mentioned with both their given name and surname appear in the Index of People. Secondly, many people are mentioned by title and surname only (no given name), most of whom are aboard ship (e.g., Captain Ablewhite). They have therefore been treated differently, and can be found in the Index of Ships and Shipping under 'crew' and then their rank or role, if known. Thirdly, where an individual is referred to by name but it is unclear exactly who is meant (e.g., 'Mr Cleveland' could refer to either James or William Cleveland), the entry reads 'Cleveland (unspecified)'. Finally, another exception has been made for enslaved people, who are not described by name in these documents. However, their personhood has been respected here, and they can be found below in the Index of People, under 'enslaved people'.

Throughout the index, every effort has been made to assist the reader by using sub-headings to avoid long 'strings' of page references; entries with such sub-headings are indicated in **bold**. However, in some cases where no meaningful sub-divisions can be found, long lists of page references have been left as they are, in some cases (e.g., 'enslaved people, prices, averages') making a point about and through the sheer amount of material.

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